

The World Tomorrow

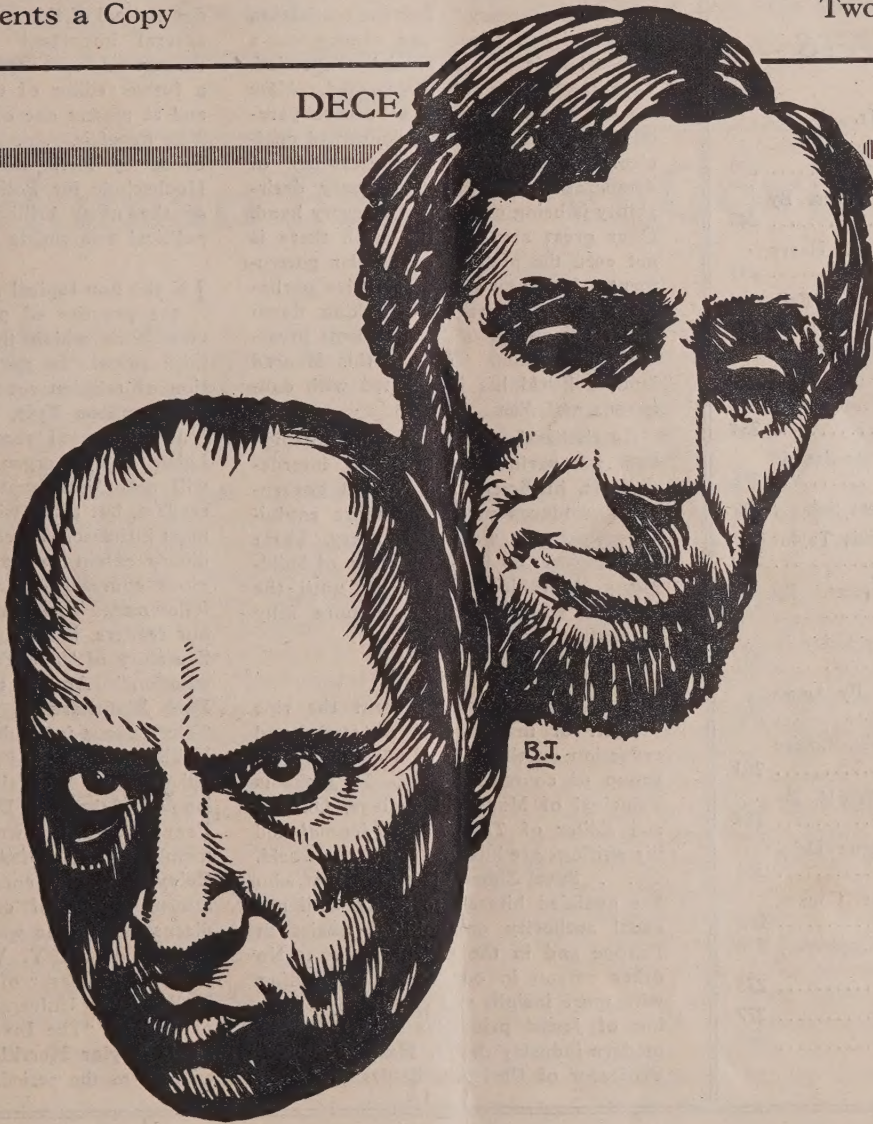
Twenty-five Cents a Copy

Two Dollars a Year

Vol. IX.

DECE

No. 7



Dictatorship and Democracy

The World Tomorrow, Inc.

52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The Point of View

The World Tomorrow

Vol. IX December, 1926 No. 7

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FEW slogans have ever stirred the hearts of more millions than the words of Woodrow Wilson, when he challenged his countrymen and the people of other lands to "make the world safe for democracy." For the realization of this ideal, blood and money on a colossal scale were sacrificially expended. Less than a decade has passed. Now we are presented with a strange paradox. Not only is there widespread cynicism concerning the practicability of democratic government; its very desirability is being questioned on every hand. Over great areas of the earth there is not even the pretense of popular government. In many other countries parliamentary processes are breaking down under the weight of the problems pressing for solution. Even in this favored land, political life is afflicted with dangerous maladies.

As civilization becomes more complex and its various parts more interdependent, inefficient and corrupt government produces more and more exploitation, poverty, strife and misery. There is, therefore, no hope whatever of building a desirable social order until the problem of government is more fully mastered.

IN this number we present the ripe fruit of many years of study and reflection on the part of a distinguished group of contributors. **L. P. Jacks** is Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, and Editor of *The Hibbert Journal* and his writings are known around the world. . . . **Savel Zimand** is a journalist who has qualified himself to speak with unusual authority on political affairs in Europe and in the Orient. . . . No other person in our day is presenting with more insight and clarity the meaning of Jesus' principles in relation to modern industry than is **Harry F. Ward**, Professor of Christian Ethics at Union

Theological Seminary. . . . **Malcolm M. Willey** is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Dartmouth. . . . **Harold J. Laski**, formerly of Harvard, is Professor of Economics at The London School of Economics and has written several important books on political theory. . . . **Bruce Bliven** writes as a former editor of the *New York Globe* and at present one of the Editors of *The New Republic*. . . . **Arnold Wolfers**, a Swiss by birth, now teaching in The Hochschule für Politik in Berlin, is one of the most brilliant of the younger political economists of Europe.

IN the non-topical section, we continue the practice of presenting points of view with which the editors may not fully agree. In particular, the conception of religion set forth in the article by **Hamilton Fyfe**, British author and journalist, until recently editor of the Labor Party's organ, the *Daily Herald*, will seem inadequate to many of our readers, but those who knew Gene Debs most intimately agree that to an extraordinary extent he was filled with a religious compassion and affection for his fellowmen. **Paul Jones**, well known to our readers, is an Episcopal Bishop and Secretary of "The Fellowship of Reconciliation." Among the book reviewers, **Paul Blanshard** is Field Secretary of "The League for Industrial Democracy"; **Phillips Bradley** is Professor of Political Science in Wellesley College; while **Louise Atherton Dickey**, of Oxford, Pennsylvania, is a writer and an efficient member of the profession of motherhood. **Coley B. Taylor** continues his series of interpretations of current plays. The discussion outline was drafted by **Grace Loucks** of the Y. W. C. A. **Wilbert Snow** is Professor of English Literature in Wesleyan University; his latest book of verse is "The Inner Harbor." . . . **Louis Taylor Merrill** is a frequent contributor to the periodicals.

THE WORLD TOMORROW

Published monthly at 52 VANDERBILT AVENUE, NEW YORK, by THE WORLD TOMORROW, Inc.

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, President
KENNETH E. WALSER, TreasurerKIRBY PAGE, Editor
DEVERE ALLEN, Executive and Literary EditorAGNES A. SHARP, Managing Editor
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OFFICE STAFF: Jean Neal Ford, advertising manager; Della Dever, Ruth Magai, Lillie Becker, Jeannette Randolph, Wallace Thurman.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is published on the first of the month. Single copies, 25 cents; \$2 per year; Canada, \$2.25; foreign, \$2.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. London representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. Annual subscription, 10s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept. 30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. IX.

DECEMBER, 1926

No. 7

The Human Factor in Government

L. P. JACKS

A NEW and thorough criticism of what is meant by the word "government" is urgently needed at the present time, and though the subject is too vast to be fully discussed in the present article, something must be said about it before we can consider profitably the part played in government by the human factor.

Such a criticism had obviously been undertaken by the able men who constructed a constitution for the United States. Their ideas of "government" were so widely different from the ideas prevailing in Europe at the time that one is tempted to doubt whether the one word can be used to cover the two things. Indeed the frequent use of the word "administration" in America for activities of the state which Europeans would describe as "government" seems to indicate that Americans are conscious of something inadequate in the latter word. Americans apparently want their affairs well "administered" by the responsible leaders of the nation. But that is quite a different thing from having their actions "governed" by the state.

But even in America, where the conception of "government" has always been different from that of Europe, the conditions of human society have changed so vastly during the last century and a half that what was good "government" from the American point of view in 1776 might have to be condoned, by Americans, as bad government now, and *vice versa*. The Volstead Act, for example, would probably have seemed, at the time, an instance of the very sort of government which the pioneers of American liberty were anxious to avoid, though today it may possibly be an instance of government modern America stands in need of. Similarly in Great Britain the almost universal franchise that now obtains would have seemed to Lord Castlereagh or the Duke of Wellington not a mode of "government" at all, but a mere device for introducing anarchy, and Carlyle would probably have taken the same view. The idea of "government of the people, by the people, for the people," they would have treated as a contradiction in terms. Whatever the proper name for such a system may be, they would have said it is certainly not a system of *government*, but something of an exactly opposite nature. Government, as they understood the term, implied the control of the unwise and incompetent many by the wise and competent few.

FROM the democratic point of view the love of power is as dangerous to the public good when it acts through a majority as when it acts through a minority—perhaps more dangerous in the former case than in the latter because of the many disguises and lying pretences under which it goes about its business. Experience has shown that this quality, when it becomes active in politics, invariably expresses itself in pillage, naked and unashamed under the rule of kings and autocracies, disguised and insincere when majorities take their place—in pillage either moral or material. Acting in either way, it sets up the very conditions against which democracy is generally supposed to be a safeguard. Democracy, which came into the world as a system for protecting the citizens from the excessive use of power, has itself developed an elaborate mechanism which well organized groups can capture and employ for the purposes of imposing their will upon their fellow men—a mechanism which works the more effectively because those who control it are able to conduct their operations under cover of oratorical insincerities which make it appear that they are acting in the interests of liberty, and by which no doubt they deceive themselves as well as their fellow citizens.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that in all democratic communities a tendency has arisen among the better and wiser class of the citizens, who have no desire to exercise power over their fellow men, or to become the instruments of those who have, to hold aloof from "politics." Yet these citizens, as a rule, are not only the best qualified to serve the community but the most eager to do so. They are compelled, reluctantly, to seek for other means of serving the state, while politics, abandoned to a less scrupulous order of minds, sink deeper and deeper into the slough of make believe and sham. The love of power is deeply characteristic of the "human factor" in its lower stages, just as the freedom from it is characteristic of the higher stages.

It was clearly foreseen by Plato that the chief danger of democracy was precisely that of falling into the hands of men who are actuated by that motive, whether in its political or economic form. To make the world safe for democracy the first essential is, as he saw the matter, that those who conduct the public business shall be actuated by the spirit of service, in place of the love of power as a means of furthering their own interests or those of the class to which they belong. This essential condition has never been ful-

filled on a scale sufficient to give the beneficent results expected of democracy.

LIBERTY FOR US; OBEDIENCE FOR OTHERS

WHILE on the one hand the need for systematic regulation of human affairs seems to be everywhere on the increase, we observe on the other that the modern man is becoming more and more disinclined to submit himself to authority of any kind. The growth of democracy has, in fact, liberated two forces which work in opposite directions and give rise to a state of acute tension, the issue of which is difficult to predict. One is the demand for personal liberty, and the other is the demand for regimentation.

In its inception democracy was a movement for securing the "liberty of the subject" against oppressive lawmakers, and the liberty so secured to him meant that he was to be left in control of his own affairs so far as this was compatible with the like liberty of his fellow citizens. Social culture meanwhile was educating him to play the part thus won for him—the part of a highly developed individual who could be trusted to govern his own life in accordance with the common good, without the need of external coercion by the law. In other words he ceased to be a mere "subject."

Later on, however, democracy itself began to practice positive lawmaking on a great scale, inasmuch that many popular assemblies today are tending to become "factories for the mass production of law." What has happened, then, is that while by our social culture we have been educating an independent type of citizen who resents external interference and asserts his competence to control his own affairs, in our political evolution we have actually been extending the range of control, standardizing and regimenting the citizen's activities to a degree which threatens to make havoc of his liberty. Our culture follows the demand for personal liberty, our politics the demand for regimentation.

Thus it has come to pass that the age in the world's history in which the demand for "government" has become more insistent than ever before has also witnessed the growth, in all civilized communities, of a temper averse to submission and recalcitrant against control.

The same difficulty presents itself in another form when the question arises of the dearth of leaders in society generally. This is commonly set down to a decline in the calibre of great men. But may it not also be due to the increasing calibre of the little men, in consequence of which they become more and more critical of their leaders and more and more disinclined to follow anybody? Would it not be truer to say that the problem of our time is to find followers rather than to find leaders? The modern man is not easy to lead, for the same reason that he is not easy to govern. The education he has received from the spirit of the age does not qualify him for playing the part either of an unquestioning follower or an obedient subject. It inclines him to assert his own independence. It has made him intelligent enough to see that the world needs government, but too self-assertive to submit to it himself.

THIS double action of the human factor in politics, this conflict between the educated intelligence of the citizen,

which is sufficiently apparent. Democracy has not succeeded in restraining the love of power as an actuating force in political life; it has rather created opportunities for its exercise in forms highly dangerous to the common weal. But while leaving in full activity the love of power when it is to be exercised by ourselves it has immensely strengthened the hatred of power when exercised over us by other people. It may be, indeed, that much which is interpreted as love of power in those who win their way to official positions in politics would be more truly described as a dread of power in other hands than their own. "I voted for the Tories at the last election," said an intelligent man to the present writer, "not because I want to be governed by them but because I do not want to be governed by the Labor Party. All governments are bad and I support the one that seems to me least obnoxious."

A NEW IDEA OF "GOVERNMENT"?

THE growing need for order which arises from the multiplicity of colliding interests in the modern world when coupled with the growing reluctance of the civilized individual to submit to external control of his conduct raises the question whether some method of ordering human affairs other than that suggested by the word "government" can be found and applied to the conditions in which we find ourselves. Ordered in some manner they clearly must be if the present destructive warfare of conflicting interests between nations and classes, which threatens the very existence of civilization, is to come to an end.

Such a method is actually in being at the present moment, is widely and beneficently operative in the industrial world, and is waiting for extension into many new fields as a means of converting conflicting interests to a cooperative purpose. Its extension as a principle of national and international order waits only for the appearance on the scene of a sufficient number of men and women who understand its significance and are capable of bearing its responsibilities. It is the principle of trusteeship. There are reasons for thinking that the social culture of our time which renders the individual more and more difficult to deal with by the coercive methods of government is at the same time widening the field from which competent trustees are forthcoming and breeding a temper of willingness in the general public to confide affairs to that kind of management.

Dr. Arthur Hadley, in an article on "Law Enforcement" in *Harper's Magazine* for August, 1925, has pointed out that the framers of the American constitution were dominated by the conception of trusteeship as defining the functions of the elected representatives of the people. Members of Congress, as they contemplated them, were to be elected not as rulers or lawmakers, but as trustees for the rights and liberties of the people. Nothing could have been further from the minds of these men than the intention to make Congress into an instrument for putting the nation under discipline, the intention being rather to protect the nation from any such thing. The same is broadly true of the British Parliament. Originally it was not a law-making body but rather a protecting screen between the people and the lawmaker. Its own lawmaking function was very gradually acquired, and it was not till after the first Reform Act of 1832 that the idea with which we are now so familiar

which sees the need of government, and his educated will, which resents being governed, promises trouble for the future of democracy and is already producing states of tension in all democratic communities the dangerousness of began to assert itself—the idea of Parliament as an instrument for making laws on any scale and in any form that majorities might demand. As these changes proceeded the conception of the “people’s representative” as public trustees faded away, the conception of the legislator-politician gradually taking its place.

IT can hardly be doubted that the change from one conception to the other has been accompanied by a lowering of the respect which the office of the politician commands among the better educated and more thoughtful elements of the community. So long as he is regarded as a trustee the highest qualifications both moral and intellectual are required of him. But as a mere instrument for registering the will of his constituents he sinks to a lower plane, which becomes lower still when he takes to practicing arts for manipulating the public opinion he is supposed to represent. The esteem in which politicians are held by the public varies greatly in different countries, being highest in those where elected representatives are not wholly deprived of the functions which belong to them as trustees, and lowest where they are treated as mere tools of their constituents. In the Latin countries, according to Dean Inge, it is now generally taken for granted that the persons who are thrown up by universal suffrage and appointed to political office are incompetent and corrupt. On the whole the esteem in which politicians are held by the public seems to be on the downgrade all the world over. And this is the more unfortunate since it happens at a time when the conditions of the world are clamoring for trustworthy management, for the service of men whose high qualities place them above suspicion and command the entire confidence of the community they serve.

TRUSTEESHIP—THE WAY OF REAL DEMOCRACY

THE remedy seems to lie in reviving the idea of trusteeship as defining the essential form which the public service should take. In the business world especially, for example in banking and mutual insurance, the function of trusteeship is highly developed already. Nor has the difficulty proved insuperable of finding men who perform the function with admirable fidelity and competence, dealing equitably with the vast interests entrusted to their keeping, and scrupulous in observing the established codes of honor peculiar to the professions they serve. Indeed, as we have indicated above, industrial civilization has shown itself singularly apt in evolving the type of character needed for positions of trust. To the multiplication and training of this type of citizen, the efforts of education should now be directed.

WHAT is needed, in short, is not the extension of the politician’s control to fields where the trustee is already established (for example, by the nationalization of banking) but the extension of the trustee function to fields now dominated by the politician. The world has outgrown the methods of the politician and is becoming more and more uneasy under the “government” which these methods

impose upon it. Democracy has not fulfilled the hopes that attended its birth, the reason being that lawmaking, under the pressure of a manipulated public opinion, has been allowed to take the place of trusteeship, which is the breath of democracy’s proper life. But the world in the meantime has grown ripe for the administration of the trustee, a type of citizen whose chief characteristic is that the spirit of public service takes precedence of the love of power or the desire for sectional advantage. This is the only type of “leadership” which a democratic community composed of highly developed individuals can be persuaded to follow, and the only type which highly developed nations will accept for the stable ordering of their international relationships. In that field, more clearly than in the national field, a system of government which allows majorities to impose their intolerance on minorities and lies at the mercy of maneuvering politicians and platform orators is altogether behind the spirit of the times and has not even the faintest chance of proving effective, no matter in what Leagues, Covenants or Treaties it may be embodied.

IN proportion as the ideal of trusteeship displaces the conception of the political boss, the party manager, or platform orator, as defining what leadership means in the world of today, we may expect to see a growing return to the public service of the best minds in the community, now alienated from politics and distrustful of political methods. For the beginning of the change we must look mainly to the field of education. Methods of education originally designed for training men to “rule” their fellows, like those of the older English universities, must be abandoned; so too must the methods prevalent in many American universities which train men primarily for “success in life”; both are out of harmony with the needs of the age. In place of them new methods must be instituted, designed for the far higher and more fruitful purpose of training the rising generation for fiduciary functions, for positions of trust. On all hands the truth needs to be pressed home that the primary task of democracy in these days is that of training trustees, the electing of representatives being a subordinate operation, and of no value unless the “representatives” elected are men and women whose personal qualities entitle them to the confidence of their fellow citizens.

AN APPEALING CONCEPT

TO men and women of high character and intelligence conception of the “trustee” is as attractive as the conception of the “politician” is repellent. In the young of both sexes are multitudes ready to respond to the fiduciary ideal, but sadly misdirected by the ideals now held before them. Rightly instructed and guided these young men and women would grow into a vast army of public servants ready to take their places as masters of equity, as just mediators between conflicting interests, as guardians and administrators of common funds, as trusted arbitrators and judges in every kind of dispute between individuals, classes or nations—the true “leaders” of the future and the only kind of leaders the future is in the least likely to follow, either in politics or in industry. They would stand at all the danger points where the interests of mankind are or employed, or of majorities and minorities, or of nations seem to be in conflict, as in the relations of employer and

at commercial cross purposes, and acting as trustees for the interests of both parties, would convert the conflict into cooperation, the feud into a mutually beneficial bargain. Nor would the spirit of trusteeship in a rightly educated community be confined to those who stood at the danger points. It would be recognized as the universal life-breath of industrial civilization in every variety of its employments and occupations, so that whatever the citizen's vocation might be, his primary conception of it would be that of a trust and of himself as a trustee bound in honor to render his particular service, whether of the pen or of the shovel, in the highest degree of excellence attainable by him.

INDUSTRIAL civilization as we know it in the world of today stands confronted by a clear alternative; it must either develop on fiduciary lines or end in irretrievable disaster. The hope that it can be coerced into order by majorities must be abandoned. This is the doing of the "human factor," which has now developed to a point where the political categories of the past are no longer applicable. Man was not made either to "govern" his fellows or to be "governed" by them. He was made for life in a free society based on the principle of mutual trust—a society highly organized and skilfully officered by wise and competent trustees.

Dictatorship

"Let them hate, if they but fear."—*An ancient Roman despot.*

"If I were not surrounded by a surging sea of hatred and love, life would be an intolerable bore."—*The modern Roman despot.*

"The power of the Russian regime rests on bayonets. We, too, have our bayonets."—*Mussolini.*

"The Democratic-Liberal State, weak and agnostic, is no more; in its place rises the Fascist State.

"We are sufficiently insolent and explicit—and in speaking with the greatest clearness we believe we are furthering the cause of truth and civilization and even of peace—to substitute a new formula for an old one, namely, this one: We exact the payment of two eyes for the loss of only one eye and of a whole set of teeth for the loss of only one tooth."—*Mussolini.*

"Free thought is good and beautiful—with one presupposition: it must be patriotic, that is Fascist."—*A Fascist, at the Philosophical Congress in Milan, March 30, 1926.*

"I shall make another trial to see whether it is possible to rule in Poland without a whip. . . . The army created for the citizenry a state capable of life. What have you made of this state? The Sejm must disband for a time in order that something new may be created."—*Pilsudski, May, 1926.*

"Mussolini is a man every country needs. Autocracy is the only solution of the world's problems; that is, if we could only be sure that every autocrat would be a good autocrat. Italy will be forced to face the problem of reduced wages. Because of Mussolini this will not result in the panic it would cause elsewhere."—*Jules S. Bache, a leading spokesman for Wall Street.*

Democracy

"There is one thing I have got a great enthusiasm about, I might almost say a reckless enthusiasm, and that is human liberty."—*Woodrow Wilson, Jan. 8, 1915.*

"The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society. And yet they are denied and evaded, with no small show of success. One dashing calls them 'glittering generalities.' Another bluntly calls them 'self-evident lies.' And others insidiously argue that they apply to 'superior races.' These expressions, differing in form, are identical in object and effect—the supplanting the principles of free government, and restoring those of classification, caste, and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against the people. They are the vanguard, the miners and sappers of returning despotism. We must repulse them or they will subjugate us."—*Abraham Lincoln, 1859.*

"If we are to escape bondage of the mind we must hold fast to the great American tradition of political liberty. This means freedom of opinion and unhindered public discussion. Have we a Bolshevik among us? Let us provide a Hyde Park or Boston Common for him in every city. It is only pent-up propaganda that possesses explosive possibilities."—*Clifton D. Gray, President of Bates College, 1926.*

"I am sometimes very much interested when I see gentlemen supposing that popularity is the way to success in America. The way to success in this great country, with its fair judgments, is to show that you are not afraid of anybody, except God and His final verdict. If I did not believe that, I would not believe in democracy. If I did not believe that I would not believe that people can govern themselves. If I did not believe that the moral judgment would be the last judgment, the final judgment, in the minds of men as well as the tribunal of God, I could not believe in popular government. But I do believe these things, and, therefore, I earnestly believe in the democracy not only of America but of every awakened people that wishes and intends to govern and control its own affairs."—*Woodrow Wilson, July 4, 1914.*

The Caesars of Our Times

SAVEL ZIMAND

DICTATORS not a few our world has seen: Alexander of Macedonia, the son of the great Philip; Julius Caesar, the elderly lover of Queen Cleopatra; Sulla of the best people; Charlemagne, reviver of the Roman tradition; Jenghiz Khan and his associates; Timur the Lame, the builder of pyramids of skulls; Caesar Borgia, superb prince of the Machiavelli type; Cromwell, who walked in the best traditions of a sour God; Cortez and Pizarro, the plundering adventurers; Napoleon Bonaparte, "with whom even God was bored"—and many other near-dictators and pseudo-dictators. But an entire corporation of dictators ruling at the same period over ten nations and led by a graduate of the anarcho-socialist school as their high commander, advancing again and again with a noise and splashing like Niagara and with a comic aping of the Caesars of old remained to be seen.

THE various attitudes of the members of this modern corporation of dictators are not so simple. It would be hard to deny that to some the inspiring motive has been to secure good government. Some may have been accessible to disinterested ambitions. A few of them may have been in pursuit of some higher ideal of humanity, and earned extraordinary personal success by a conspiracy of the imagination and the will. And yet with few exceptions, however they differed from each other, they all had in common an irreconcilable acceptance of violence as supreme God. Now with thousands of victims lying dead around the pedestals of these modern Napoleons it is perhaps not out of place to ask what this combination of the mailed fist and brutality has accomplished. In estimating their deeds it is necessary to discard Lincoln's famous formula of government and the "dogmas" of democracy and liberalism. But we can ask in good faith in how far these dictators have used their powers to bring about a government for the people.

BEFORE I take up the deeds of these priests of force and consider how their challenge has affected the whole fabric of our society I shall try to tell something about the different schools of this corporation of dictators.

To begin with there are dictators and dictatorships. And at this late date it is safe to state that Russia is ruled by a communistic dictatorship guided by a philosophic outline. While it may accurately be said that during Lenin's days the country was ruled by a supreme dictator, Stalin, his successor is master of the situation only in so far as he carries out the orders of the Communist Party.

THE dictators of our times are of infinite variety. There are Red, Black and Green dictators. There is Stalin, the heir of Lenin, who sings Glory-be-to-Marxism and there is the Duce, the mighty conductor of "Youth, Youth, Spring-time of Beauty" who chants "Glory-be-to-Caesarism" and who sees black but not far. There is Primo de Rivera, aristocrat of dictators, who rules over a once flourishing sunny land, and there is Marshal Pilsudski, adventurer-

socialist-nationalist, the martial looking figure in gala uniform covered with glittering decorations, with a worn out Legionist cap, an olive-skinned face and drooping black mustache, master of the Belvedere Palace of Warsaw. We have Gazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, with powerful head affixed to a slim body, a man of modern and daring ideas who has thrust aside even the laws of the Prophet by ordering himself the first statue in Islam to be erected at the Seraglio where the Bosphorus meets the Golden Horn, thus occupying as commanding a position at Constantinople harbor as the Statue of Liberty does at New York. And there is Reza Khan on the great peacock throne of Persia who took a new gold crown and placed it on his head and while pressing down the golden diadems said "There is no one here of higher position than I myself." Then we have General Kondylis, former farmer boy, who dictates to the Tragedy that is Greece, the dual dictators of Hungary and the pseudo-dictators of Bulgaria and Roumania. We have Chang Feng, Wu, Chiang Kai-Shek and Sun Chuan of North and South China and their armies of marshals. We must not forget General Juan Vicente Gomez of Venezuela and the strong arm men of Peru and Ecuador who perform in the South American revolutionary fashion. Finally President Machado of Cuba in his Armistice Day address told his country that he is prepared to turn dictator.

IN all four parts of the globe dictators hold full sway. We have become used to dictators. We are under their spell and in the last few years more than once has our Statue of Liberty listened to the ardent plea: "We need a Mussolini and particularly one who will abolish graft and punish severely anyone who will accept it. Who can do this but a Mussolini? Mussolini—ah, there's a man!" Let us then see what these modern dictators have done. What is their record?

First let us take the rulers of the Kremlin. Nine years have passed since Lenin and his Bolshevik followers wrenched control of the Russian revolution from the unsteady hands of Alexander Kerensky and transformed a political uprising into the world's greatest political and economic overturn. The Bolsheviks marched to power with the slogan: Peace and Bread. They threw into discard the democratic system of government. They abolished freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly.

From the middle of 1918 to the end of 1920 the attention of the Soviet government was concentrated upon problems of national defense. The country passed through a period of foreign intervention, civil war and blockade. This fact must be considered in the evaluation of the policies pursued by the Bolsheviks during this period.

They suppressed ruthlessly the opposition. They assured the defeat of Czarism. They fought against the disintegration of Russia and refused to bargain with national rights in exchange for foreign credits. They achieved the success of the revolution to a greater degree than most had expected.

They nationalized and distributed the land to the peasants. They handled the question of nationalities with great skill, giving autonomy and local freedom to nations within the Soviet Union.

BUT the realities of today differ indeed from the Communist hopes of yesterday. A few facts stand out: The Soviets are firmly entrenched in power, and although the present industrial system in Russia is far from the pure communism of the eager revolutionists, and complete state ownership has been widely diluted with private enterprise, it stands today as the most extensive example of governmental economic enterprise that the world had ever seen. Since 1921 substantial gains have been made in Russian industrial life, despite the greatest obstacles. The peasant as a result of the Revolution has come into possession of the land formerly in the hands of the noble estate holders and is no longer under obligation to render service in kind or share his crop with the noble landlord. But he is still under a disadvantage as a result of the government's "price policy." He sells his wheat to the government at a low price and has to pay a high price for manufactured goods.

In so far as liberty of discussion is concerned, in his latest full-dress summary Stalin told us that, if anything, there will be less discussion, even within the Communist party and, perhaps "more freedom for literary critics than now."

HIS Excellency, the Chevalier Benito Mussolini, head of the Government, Prime Minister, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for War, for the Navy, for Aviation, and Interior, etc., etc., marched on Rome in October, 1922, to save Italy, Europe and the world from Bolshevism. He is now a little more modest in his aims. He is the founder of Fascism. But as W. Bolitho stated "There is no more a doctrine of Fascism than a doctrine of small-pox." He came to power with the help of the "big sticks," the *manganelli* of the Black Shirts and castor oil, to the tune *Evviva l'Italia*. He conquered because of the weakness of Italian parliamentarianism and was helped by the revolt of the property owners and middle classes against the weak and leaderless communists of Italy. The Corfu incident, still fresh in our memories, the attacks upon Germany, regarding the agitation over the Tyrol, the attack on French railroad employes in a frontier station town and the invasion of the French Consulate in Tripoli, and the more recent Garibaldi affair are typical of his foreign policy. It will be remembered that at the time of the fifth attempt on Mussolini's life, September 11, 1926, he abused the French for allowing plots for the destruction of Italy to be hatched on their territory and from the balcony of the Palazzo Chigi he warned the French that this "criminal and unheard-of toleration practiced across the frontiers must immediately cease." In November of this year the French cables contended that Mussolini's own emissaries were plotting, on French territory, the Catalonia rising, calculated to produce friction between France and Spain. Outstanding French newspapers asserted that the purpose of the Italian secret police in this affair was to betray the Catalan leader, Colonel Francisco Macia, into the hands of Spanish police, and by this stroke the Italian authorities expected to prove, in the first place, that France was negligent in permitting the conspiracy to be hatched on French soil and therefore to demand from

France to eject all political opponents of Fascism, and, in the next place, that Italy was Spain's friend and more to be trusted than France.

His tacit approval of the Matteotti murder, his resort to the weapon of the agent provocateur, his drastic restrictive measures passed November 9—whisperingly dubbed the "gallows for all acts," which provides that there must be no criticism of the Government "in any form or shape" and that though they have not broken the law "suspects" may be given indeterminate sentences in Italy's penal colonies, tells the story of how he treats his opponents at home. Mussolini summarized, with brutal frankness, his four years' rule when he declared to a foreign correspondent: "I assert now that any Italian who is an anti-Fascist is a traitor to his country."

The legislation passed the early part of this year abrogated the Constitution and placed the control of the entire productive life of the nation in the hands of the government, which means in the hands of the dictator. The Italian workman has neither the right to strike nor to combine in his own organization. But Il Duce has kept his promises to bring about conditions favorable to the influx of foreign capital and has done a good deal to simplify the administration of the state. He has helped increase production and establish some financial order in the country. He is anxious to have capital participate in the development of Italian industry and is trying to offer attractive propositions to American capital.

So it happens that some of our distinguished visitors to Mussolini's Italy, after hearing the Duce talk on Imperial Rome and the gospel of labor and black bread, return home cheering the white dictatorship and damning the red dictatorship.

THE Spanish dictator, Primo de Rivera, seized the power in Madrid just three years ago. The Spanish system of government had long since fallen into corruption and decay. Constitutionalism had often been overturned by military revolutions. The roots of political behavior were shallow. Half of the citizens were illiterate, the press inadequate and the system of communication bad. Now to what extent has De Rivera succeeded in his task?

In the preamble of the royal decree of September 15, 1923, he announced that his aim was simply "to open a brief parenthesis in the constitutional life of Spain, which would be re-established as soon as the country should furnish men who were not contaminated by the vices of political parties."

De Rivera promised to restore constitutional authority as soon as he should find himself free to form a government having no relation with the former political parties and offering the guarantees of ability and honesty which had been lacking in previous governments. But he declared that he would not quit the power before he carried out the following program: (1) Reestablish the dignity of law and liberate it from political influences, (2) Settle the Moroccan problem favorably to the moral and material interests of Spain, (3) Carry out economies and restore a stricter morality to the entire administration, (4) Prepare new constitutional laws.

At first the dictator thought that thirty days would be sufficient to carry out this program. One week later he said that ninety days would be necessary and after three weeks of power he stated that he would probably need three years.

On December 3, 1925, De Rivera with the acquiescence of the King announced a return to a cabinet of ministers composed mainly of civilians. For the military dictatorship was substituted a civilian and economic dictatorship. Yet these civilian ministers or rather "orderlies," as they have been nicknamed, simply continued to carry out the dictator's commands.

The three years are up and De Rivera gives thanks to God for having been able to realize everything that he promised—everything, the things most important and the things less important.

Let us agree that order, which prevails normally in any civilized country, reigns today in Spain. But is this due altogether to the dictatorship? The Moroccan problem is "settled" only in the fashion that it has been settled innumerable other times, and Spain still maintains an expensive army in Africa. Since September, 1923, Spain's national debt increased by more than \$2,000,000,000. Blasco Ibañez tells us that under De Rivera's regime "thieving continues unchecked." But let us discard Ibañez's testimony and agree with De Rivera that at present there is less corruption in the administration of public affairs. It is still in order to ask whether the mentality of a people can better be changed by suppressions and censorships than by the building of school-houses for the fifty per cent of the country's population over ten years old who can neither read nor write.

IN November, 1922, the Turkish National Assembly deposed the Sultan and declared the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. In its place rose the new National Turkish State with Mustapha Kemal Pasha as its head. But in reality Turkey is today under a military dictatorship and the Cabinet and National Assembly are the tools of Kemal. Opposition parties are not much tolerated and the dictator controls the army, press and government machinery.

However, Kemal Pasha has lifted his country to a high prestige and has been doing and is doing much to improve the lot of his people. In a short period of three years he has set up a new state, a new code of laws, a new army, separated the church from the state, made civil marriage obligatory, divorce a matter for the courts to settle, made the laws of inheritance equal for both sexes, and used his power to destroy the church's influence in Turkish politics. He also tried prohibition for a year, that is, only long enough to ruin the Greek wine sellers.

On the other hand mention must be made of the Tribunals of Independence, the special nationalist courts which hear cases against those who oppose or differ from Kemal's opinions. Only this September a number of his enemies were executed with Hamidian brutality, and in July thirteen men, six of them members of the Turkish parliament, were hanged at the street corners along the water front of Smyrna. Suppressions and brutalities are likely to react in the same way whether they come from the hands of a vicious ruler like Abdul Hamid II or from the acts of a modern and intelligent statesman like Kemal Pasha.

ON March 12, 1926, Marshal Joseph Pilsudski was heralded as dictator of Poland. A day later the cables told us about more than 500 dead, fully half of them civilians, and 1,500 wounded, as a result of the Marshal's revolution. The unrest in that country which preceded the revolution was

caused chiefly by political reasons—it was almost impossible to maintain a majority in the Diet—and was aggravated by economic and financial distress, due to the high cost of living, much unemployment, industrial and labor troubles and the Government's difficulty in balancing the budget. After the Pilsudski coup the financial and economic situation showed little improvement. In October of this year the Marshal reorganized his government and assumed charge over the Premiership, the War Ministry and in reality over the Foreign Office also. By a decree issued on November 7, the circulation of printed news concerning the State or a Minister of the State which would cause a public demonstration, whether such news is plainly branded as only a rumor or not, is subject to a fine as high as \$1,000 or a prison sentence of three months without a court hearing. Other provisions of this measure are that the printing or circulating in speeches or privately of news or rumors affecting members of the government and judges of the courts, either ridiculing or criticizing them, is punishable by a fine as high as \$500 or a jail term of one month, the penalties being imposed out of court. The printing by newspapers or periodicals of matters considered by government officials to be derogatory, even through error, is punishable by a fine of \$300 or a month's imprisonment. This drastic order comes at a time when the air is full of talk over the Marshal's aim toward a monarchy.

UP to 1918 Hungary was governed as a constitutional monarchy. Since then the country has been ruled by a reform socialist, an extreme communist, an archduke, and from the end of 1919 by the counter-revolutionary Horthy as Regent and magnate Count Stephen Bethlen as Premier. The electoral system designed to give the government a majority was made by decree. In April, 1924, extraordinary power was granted to the government for a reconstruction period of two and a half years. Experts state that the reconstruction scheme in Hungary has been as decisive as it has been rapid. But the news item that "the number of students at Budapest University falls in three years from 13,293 to 9,102 as result of economic depression" tells a different story. And the Horthy White terror is too well known to need further comment.

ON December 12, 1925, the National Assembly of Persia voted to transfer the crown of Persia to Reza Khan. He had been officially master of the situation since October, 1923, when he became Prime Minister. For several months previous to that he had been the actual power as Minister of War. Now he is Shah-in-Shah and we are told by one who knows him that it is unlikely that Reza will stand "any nonsense about democracy" in his scheme of things. We need no other assurance that "Reza is enough democracy in himself for Persia today."

GENERAL KONDYLIS with the assistance of a majority of the army overthrew his predecessor dictator in August of this year, and made himself the controlling power. He declared in October that "the revolution instigated by myself was and continues to be the reestablishment of parliamentarianism in Greece, the restoration of a free regime, the recognition of the rights of the people, and the safeguarding of popular liberties." On November 7 a new National Assembly was elected. A few days later the General declared that fresh elections may be necessary before

a constitutional government is completely assured. But before long another politician or general or even king may declare himself absolute dictator. In Greece the insurance rate for dictators is very high.

THEN we have the military chieftains in China who attempt to make use of the foreigners—British, Japanese, Russians—as the foreign nations attempt to make use of them. And many of the subaltern officers of these chieftains force the peasants of the country to grow opium, which forms a large part of the various war lords' revenue. Finally, we mention General Juan Vicente Gomez, who in 1909 became and still continues to be virtually dictator of

Venezuela, where according to the Venezuelan Labor Union "imprisonment or death" is current coin.

Such is the story of the rule of these modern strong men. They may have brought more material independence for man, but with few exceptions they have committed the greatest of all crimes and that is to deny the very substance of freedom to their people. Such mastery and oppression of freedom to their people. Such mastery and oppression of while we have moved a long way from the days of Caesarism of old, it remained for us, after the great War fought under the passionate plea to "make the world safe for democracy," to experience this dictatorial age.

The Kingdom of Gold

HARRY F. WARD

DURING the current campaign in the State of New York a revealing remark was made by the campaign manager of one of the candidates for the governorship. This manager happened to be a Congressman. Speaking of the opposition candidate, he said, "He has accepted State and Municipal ownership and operation, and State development of waterpower and State grain elevators and all the rest of them in his program. The question naturally arises whether our business men who are all the time running down to us for protection against that sort of thing, want these policies applied in Washington. We will ask them that during this campaign." Here is an official statement of the working principle of current politics in the United States. It affirms that the business of government is to protect business.

For this protection, of course, business must pay. The outstanding facts in the recent dreary campaign were the enormous expenditures of senatorial candidates in the primaries of Pennsylvania and Illinois. At the time that the Senate refused to seat Newberry from Michigan, it declared that the expenditure by a senatorial candidate of \$195,000 was "contrary to sound policy, harmful to the honor and dignity of the Senate, and dangerous to the perpetuity of a free government." The Republican candidate in Pennsylvania openly acknowledged the expenditure of more than four times this amount to gain the nomination in the primary. Almost twice the Michigan expenditure was similarly acknowledged in Illinois.

IF the meaning of these expenditures is to be understood, they must not be set down as instances of mere personal corruption or graft, to be swept away by a wave of moral resentment against the individual offenders. The primitive political corruption of the developing days of American industrialism has been set forth in such books as Lincoln Steffens's "Shame of our Cities", and Winston Churchill's "Coniston." Then our political bosses were like Chinese bandits, stationing themselves at the highways of commercial and industrial traffic, to take their regular toll from successful capitalists, sometimes by interfering or threatening to interfere with their operations, sometimes by doing favors for them. In those days in a mid-western city, a friend of mine canvassing for funds to be used by

a reform organization in a campaign against the two most notorious gang aldermen of the city, received a contribution from its greatest merchant. Soon after he learned that a larger contribution had been sent by the same man to the campaign headquarters of these aldermen. The reason for this double dealing suddenly dawned on him when, in studying the streetcar franchises of the city, he discovered that a number of them had been so framed as to break the traffic at the corner of the block in which this man's great store stood.

In his too-soon forgotten record, Steffens painted for us the picture of the alliance between the grim triumvirate of respectable big business, grafting politics and the underworld. Before the days of the Anti-Saloon League and vice repression, our city political machines lived regularly on enforced tribute from the underworld, with occasional contributions for special purposes from business interests who thus used the two kinds of immorality for their own purposes. Steffens who started out to find the facts about the wicked people, came to the conclusion that the so-called good people, who were the ultimate and, in many cases, the conscious beneficiaries of this combined wickedness, were the really responsible powers behind the scene. Since then, the process has been refined and made more moral upon the surface. These recent enormous expenditures, with others like them in national campaigns (it is more than a conjecture that the graft of the Ohio gang, for part of which Daugherty was recently unsuccessfully tried, was used to pay the deficit in a presidential campaign), represent a regular relationship between practical economics and practical politics. They mean that big business does not have so many shady dealings with corrupt politicians, but gets its work done openly and above board through the regular processes of law and government. They also mean that the ultimate consumer pays more regularly for the undertaking. The contribution of business to the political machines represents today not so much a part of the loot of successful, strong-arm men in finance and industry, but a fraction of the overhead of many forms of business borne by the purchaser of commodities in slightly increased prices.

IT is both a moral evasion and a practical futility to place the odium for this situation entirely upon the backs of leaders in business enterprise, as it was in earlier days to

load the whole guilt upon the shoulders of grafting politicians. What is being done today to use politics for the advancement of the interests of business, is for the most part being done in the open, and with the express or tacit consent of most of our people. The charge of hypocrisy that Lenin leveled against our form of government in one of his conversations with Raymond Robbins, because coal and steel do not directly represent Pennsylvania in the Senate, is now largely out of date. One of the richest men in the country has administered the affairs of the Treasury Department primarily in the interests of rich men amid almost universal paeans of praise, despite the law designed to prevent just this development which forbids any man engaged in active business from serving in that office. The letter of the law was apparently fulfilled by the legal fiction of transferring titles. That no one has arisen to press the issue, is evidence of our moral condition.

It is perhaps more appropriate that another very rich man should administer the Department of Commerce and Labor, should enforce by precept and practice the traditional philosophy of money-making which has been dignified under the title of Classical Economics and should use the Department to nullify existing legislation against business combinations, all in the belief that thus the public weal is to be served. If criticism is to be leveled at the present administration because it has used its powers in the matter of the Tariff Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Federal Trade Commission to divert those agencies in part at least from their original purpose and function, it must be remembered that the administration promised explicitly in its inception to reduce both taxes and government interference with business. This pledge publicly made and received either with gratitude or apathy has been faithfully carried out.

Moreover both political parties are cooperating in this change in our concept and practice of government. The contribution of the Democrats to the taxation fight was to make additional reductions on certain classes of large income. In particular they presented unasked and unexpected millions to some of the greatest estates in the country by making the reduction in the inheritance tax retroactive. As the South becomes industrialized, the traditional difference between Democrat and Republican over the tariff issue gradually disappears. As the farmers raise their demand to share in the benefits of the tariff, it will go altogether. Recent revelations of large contributions from business sources to campaign funds show them to have been given to both parties at the same time. In the use of the government's special wartime powers to aid certain groups of business men in the cases of the Shipping Board and Alien Property, politicians of one party were the original agents, and business men mostly of another were the beneficiaries. Hence, collaboration in preventing the facts from being known to the public.

THE use of the powers and functions of government to promote business is seen more clearly in foreign relations. Here the facts are harder to get at, because the nation that shouted for open diplomacy still permits its State Department to carry on business behind closed doors and politely to inform citizens who make inconvenient inquiries, that it is none of their business. The frequent

official answer even to congressional committees is that to reveal facts would be incompatible with the national interest. Despite this darkness, the phrases "dollar diplomacy"¹ and the "flag follows trade," cover a lot of history and condense the main meaning of its story. They portend, also, the growing power of an idea. One of our diplomatic representatives discussing a controversy between our country and the one to which he was commissioned, said to a friend of mine, "We were wrong and they were right,—historically, legally and morally. I so informed the State Department, nevertheless I advised the Department to insist on our position because the Chambers of Commerce, both here and at home, were protesting, and my conception of our function is that we are representative." This is a voice from a member of the younger school of diplomats who had chosen diplomacy in his college days as a life career, and therefore represented the training and position of the State Department. The recent assumption by the Department of the power to veto or approve all foreign loans from private sources will tend in the direction of this kind of representation. The precedent of the Public Utilities Commissions shows to what extent that which begins as regulation of finance by government, ends in alliance. At present in the cases of both France and Russia this control of loans is occasioning the postponement of the healing of the nations.

TO read this story in terms of individual delinquency is of course to land in that confusion of the issue which is always the result of over-simplification. The peril of democracy today is not a mutual alliance for plunder of strong-arm men in business and politics, but the control of government for purposes of business by men who are themselves good according to accepted standards and who sincerely believe that by this policy they are doing good to the country. The worst enemies of the public weal today are not buccaneers but philanthropists. The late tax reductions on great incomes were accomplished by successfully spreading through newspaper propaganda the doctrine that the more the rich take out of the common pool, the more will be left for the rest of us. The absurdity of the mathematics does not destroy the power of the illusion. Mr. Mellon, in cheerful ignorance of the ten dollars apiece that was paid to watchers who didn't watch, explains that the large primary expenditure in Pennsylvania amounted to only a dollar a head per voter, a small price of course for the good that government by rich men and their instruments will give us. This is not the first or last time that the attempt to do good by the pursuit of one's special interest leads into casuistry. To accomplish its particular piece of good, the Anti-Saloon League of Illinois sought to dragoon the churches into support of a candidate for the Senate who, while chairman of the Commission to Regulate Public Utilities, had received a large campaign contribution from the president of the biggest public utility corporation in the State. Organized labor endorsed the same candidate, imagining that thereby its own special interest in labor legislation would be protected. There is no monopoly of the dangerous illusion that the general good is to be served by seeking first your own special good and

¹ Admirably documented in Nearing and Freeman's recent volume under that title and in Dunn's *American Foreign Investments*.

everywhere it is equally destructive of both moral integrity and the commonwealth.

TO conduct our government on the basis of the theory that to use its functions to enable successful business to make, keep and transmit large fortunes will result in the greatest good to the greatest number, is of course a sharp reverse in American tradition and practice. The change has been gradual. The man who embodied the best of our early political development, who gave us the immortal phrase about "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," warned us against the danger to democracy of the concentration of wealth. Then came the money making of the industrial development following the Civil War. This led to the attempt of the Agrarian Movement and the later Progressive Movement to break up big fortunes and large combinations. Now the still larger money making of the World War and its aftermath has brought us a taxation policy based on the desirability of tremendous concentration of ownership and income, and of government aid to business association and combinations in the assumed and alleged interests of public well-being. Looking at these two developments while teaching here for a term, Hobson the prominent English economist declared that never in history has there been a government so dominated by business interests as ours. Obviously we have almost reached the stage of government "of business, by business and for business." In his decision against the minimum wage law in the District of Columbia, the judge declared that the function of our law and government was to protect life, liberty and property, and said he, "The greatest of these is property, because without it life and liberty are meaningless." Has the American Commonwealth, then, become already the Kingdom of Gold? Instead of promoting human freedom and development, does it seek to foster the making of money?

IF this development is consummated, then the beginning of the end of the American contribution to the political development of mankind is in sight. We have the detailed record of one historic precedent in the case of Rome. When Ferrero, the eminent Italian historian, was here he warned us that the decadent period of Roman history was being repeated in our own time and place. The signs are: the entrance of rich men into government office and influence; the consequent use of the government to protect special privilege against the people instead of protecting the people against special privilege; the temporary anaesthetizing of the populace with modern substitutes for bread and circuses—movies and prize fights, radios and Fords, silk stockings and fur coats.

Already the disintegrating effect of the doctrine that the chief end of government is the promotion of money-making is seen in the cleavage between agricultural and industrial interests, between rural and urban sections of the population. The central citadel in the control of government for and by business in this country is the tariff and the tariff, as every economist knows, is a sectional issue. Now that the farmers propose a plan for dumping their surplus crops on the foreign market in such a way as to enable

them to share in tariff benefits, they are denounced by the Secretary of the Treasury, an outstanding industrial beneficiary of the tariff, for demanding a Government subsidy and proposing a policy that would cause the lowering of wages. Now that the cotton growers, faced with the possible disaster of a surplus crop, desire Government aid in credit to hold part of it for next year's market, they are advised by the Secretary of Commerce to let natural law take care of it, to learn their lesson by letting the manufacturers buy it at the lowest price. "If necessary," he adds, "the manufacturer ought to have credit aid for this purpose." The blind inconsistency of such utterances is the result of the inherent selfishness of the philosophy of money-making. The practical outcome of such a concept of government is not the common well-being but the common destruction. If we are to guzzle like hogs in the trough, we shall end by fighting like hogs in the muck.

If they are to avoid this disaster, the American people must come to understand realistically the increasing interrelation between economics and politics. This must be done through case studies of the particular points at which economic interests now control government and at which the corruption of government can only be prevented by the control of economic function in the interest of the whole people. Yet how many of the intelligent middle class know Beard's writings; how many have read his classic summary of the economic basis of politics and the evidence of his researches into the formation of our constitution and government? How many of them are competent, let alone willing, to take a part in freeing the multitude from the grip of the propaganda of the newspapers in popularizing the traditional economic philosophy? Yet when Keynes, the brilliant English economist, tells us that *laissez faire* is dead, our younger American economists rise to second the motion, to say that they all know that intelligent control is necessary to economic salvation. Whose duty is it then to make that knowledge common property, to let the crowd know that economics and politics are so joined that no man can put them asunder, that the real political issues are tariffs and combinations, water power and public utilities, foreign trade and investments, bread and housing, land and minerals?

THE deeper question concerns the end for which economic activities are to be intelligently and democratically controlled. How can the people transform the Kingdom of Gold into the Commonwealth of Humanity unless they know what are the real values of human living? Behind any concept of the function of government, there must be a philosophy of life. The people cannot conquer for the common good the materials and services which lie at the base of human society unless they know in what the common good consists. How then shall they be taught? And who shall teach them?

Is there any menace to the Kingdom of Gold, any saving power from the death it portends for man, in the company who profess the opposite of its basic faith that if men will seek first profit, all good things shall then be added unto them?

Is Political Democracy a Failure?

MALCOLM M. WILLEY

IT was in a letter written to an American by Macaulay in the year 1857 that this striking sentence is found: "Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your Republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century, as the Roman Empire was in the fifth; with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your country by your own institutions." It was a gloomy future for the democratic experiment that was predicted by Macaulay. "I have long been convinced," he writes also, "that institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty or civilization, or both." This letter is significant because the beliefs expressed in it are typical of the beliefs of a large number of astute thinkers who have lived both before and after the period in which the distinguished Englishman wrote. There is by no means a unanimous opinion that democratic experiments in government have been the unqualified success that the school boy is usually taught to believe. To be sure, a faith in democracy is in the *mores*, as William Graham Sumner long ago pointed out. Yet in spite of this, it must be repeated that there is a growing group of those who see democracy as a will-of-the-wisp, luring all followers to chaos, if not destruction. What such writers have to say deserves attention.

ONE thing must be clear at the outset. The word democracy is often so vaguely defined that one is led to lament with John Locke: "If anyone shall consider the errors and obscurity, the mistakes and confusion that are spread in the world by an ill use of words, he will find some reason to doubt whether language, as it has been employed, has contributed more to the improvement or hindrance of knowledge among man-kind." Certainly for the present discussion there were never more pertinent words uttered, for seldom does a word mean so many things to so many minds as does this one—*democracy*. Clear analysis indicates, however, that a complete discussion of democracy should be three-fold: economic democracy, social democracy, and political democracy. Actually it is inconceivable that there can be effective political democracy (which is the phase of the matter in which most discussion centers) unless there is also a measure of economic and social democracy. Labor discriminations, class discriminations, and racial discriminations cut directly across the possibility of obtaining political democracy. One of the obvious shortcomings of the attempt to develop democracy in this country—and one often overlooked—is that democracy is being attempted in the face of the intense economic and social inequalities that characterize the present industrial society. Class and economic cleavages, prejudices and antagonisms, have given rise to special groupings between which the cooperation posited by the democratic theory is difficult. Fruitful as a discussion of these might be, attention here is to be confined to political democracy.

POLITICAL democracy implies that each individual citizen shall share in the creation of the policies by which the state is guided, if not directly, then through a representative. This means in a country such as ours that by the ballot the voters shall select those candidates who will represent them and their interests in the affairs of government. In this underlying assumption there are two considerations of vast importance: (1) this theory necessitates enlightened voters who appreciate their own and the common welfare, and are capable of integrating the two; (2) it implies that the elected officers of the government will actually represent the interests of the citizens. There may be those who will argue that this simple statement puts the matter too bluntly, but analysis of the material in the literature of political democracy shows clearly that in its essentials democracy may be reduced to these two fundamentals. Without these two, it seems sheer folly to talk of political democracy. Democracy will fail, then, to the extent that these two essentials are distorted.

What shall be said of the enlightened voter? Does he exist? One thing is certain: the role of the voter becomes more difficult as the community in which he lives grows in complexity. It may have been that in the days of the simple town meeting the voter did know in detail about the candidates and the measures for which he was casting a vote—although there was then probably more "engineering" of voters than is commonly believed. But whatever the situation in the days of the simpler society such political intimacy does not prevail in modern times. And it must be remembered that the trend toward urbanization, with its constantly growing intricacy, is sharp. The modern voter in a large constituency has not at his disposal the information that enables him to cast a ballot with the intelligence that the theory of political democracy assumes. The mere growth in society necessitates a complete revision of the old concept that the citizen can vote with deliberation and with the facts in the case at hand. The modern voter has neither the time nor the background to master the complexity of our Great Society. The validity of this statement can readily be tested by anyone who is in close contact with people. If, as the writer found, a class of mature college and graduate students at the very time when investigations into the primary expenditures of 1926 were at their height, could not give even an approximate account of the facts involved, what, in the way of civic enlightenment, can be expected from the great mass of voters?

ONE may regard the problem of enlightened voting from another angle. From what sources does the enlightenment come? As has been pointed out again and again, the modern campaign is too often a thing of vituperation, misrepresentation, personality, redfire and blaring bands. A balanced and cool judgment can no more issue from it than ice can come forth from the surface of an agitated hot-spring. The campaign is emotionalized from start to finish.

Perhaps then from the newspapers? In a recent study the writer found that for an entire state for one year, the amount of political news finding its way into print in the weekly papers averaged less than six inches in a hundred inches of printed matter. Taken as a class, city papers do little better. Newspapers, as Walter Lippmann and others have pointed out, are organs for the spread of preconceived opinion, and not agencies for the creation and formation of opinion. If the campaign is not a clarifying influence (not even for the emotions) and if the newspaper does not contain significant political information, from what source is the voter to secure the essential knowledge? From gossip? It is just such questions as these that lead critics of democracy to assert that its failure lies in the fact that indifferent voters are casting ballots on the basis of prejudice, bias, and emotion, and that reason is an all but negligible factor. Here, they say, is the inherent fragility and weakness of a theory that assumes that the voice of the people can ever rise except in a shout of ignorance. It is such ideas that permeate the writing of Leckey, LeBon, Maine, and others. And even staunch defenders of democracy are worried not a little by the force of these facts.

THERE remains the question of representation. Much of the searching criticism of democratic government focuses upon the growth of forces that pervert the principle that the citizen, through his representatives, has his interests guarded. Many are the critics who point to the distortion of this doctrine that follows the growth of the political party. It was Sir Henry Maine who said that party government really consisted in "half the cleverest men of the country taking pains to prevent the other half from governing." Numerous students in the field of social theory have contended that with parties dominating as at present, party interests greatly overshadow the interests of the citizens. The parties become the organs of special interests, and the doctrine of public welfare suffers accordingly. Two writers of outstanding significance have analyzed this phase of the failure of democratic government: Robert Michels in *Political Parties*, and M. Ostrogorski in *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*. A discussion of party politics and the relation of the party to democracy virtually necessitates familiarity with these two works.

MICHELS argues that as society grows in size, organization must be introduced, for with masses of men direct deliberation is not feasible. There must be representation. This at the outset introduces the germ of oligarchy, for inevitably leaders develop. As society grows further in size and complexity, the organization centering in the government becomes correspondingly complex. The leaders assume more and more control, bureaucracy follows, and democracy becomes a mere form. Moreover, in any complex society representative democracy as now organized fails, for no individual can possibly represent the heterogeneous interests that must have expression. (Certainly in this country, with representatives chosen on a geographical plan, it is folly to talk of the representation of all interests in the area.) Then, once leadership is attained, the leader for his own ends plays upon the masses who are ever ready to succumb to crowd conditions, and are consequently subject to manipulation. With still further

growth, leaders become more autocratic, and increase their domination through nepotism and control of the press. In this manner party interest in a narrow sense looms as the all-important fact and develops so far, it might be added that the chief appeal in a campaign may be made upon the basis of keeping an entrenched party in power. So firm a grip may this party dominance gain that, as Michels observed, the democratic system is eventually reduced to the right of the masses at occasional intervals to choose the master to whom they will give unconditional obedience until the next opportunity for such expression of choice. Even then, with party turnover, it is only one dominant class interest succeeding another. Incidentally, this argument is interesting to compare with those who contend that democracy is always the rule of the ignorant masses.

The general position stated by Michels has been elaborated by Ostrogorski. It is to the inadequacy of the party system that may be traced the degradation of state legislatures, corruption of state and city administrations, the "machines," inadequate leadership and lack of public responsibility. It is all because the party is the lever for private interests who have gained control and wish to keep it. Hence the "boss," bribery, spoils systems, corruption at primaries, log-rolling and the long list of other sore spots in the body politic.

IT is a baffling and bewildering array of charges that these critics of democracy have marshalled. If there were space it could be shown, too, how some of these same critics have utilized the results of the psychological tests in seeking to establish their claims. But this must be passed with mere mention.

Is democracy a total loss? Is it an abject failure? Or, as Bryce thought, is there still hope? No straightforward answer can be given. One can only indicate what must be considered in any attempt at evaluation of arguments. In the first place it must be decided whether or not the weaknesses which undoubtedly exist are inherent in democracy or are merely concomitant evils that might exist at a given time, no matter what the form of political organization. Do these evils arise because democracy carries the seed of its own destruction, or are they manifestations of vast cultural changes that are taking place at the same time democracy is being tried? To many, such as Faguet, LeBon, Maine and Leckey, the answer seems clear: in democracy itself are the causes of modern political ills. But there are others—who see the source of the trouble elsewhere, outside of the democratic tendencies of the times: democracy has simply had its period of growth concurrently with a period of momentous cultural change. With the passing of time, they argue, cultural stability will come, social change in all its phases will be less tumultuous, and political democracy—as well as social and economic democracy—will become realities. Before we can answer the question, "Is democracy a failure?" the validity of one or the other of these positions must be established. Both are open to question now.

In addition, more must be known about the "average man" who constitutes the "mass" of the voting population. What is the significance of the material gathered by the psychologists in their mental testing? Do their results damn democracy forever because man is pigmy-brained? This much can be safely said: the results of psychological

tests are not now being stated so extremely as once they were, and the significance is not at all so certain as was claimed in the earlier moments of enthusiasm. The interpretation is yet open.

FINALLY, it is sometimes stated, there may develop substitutes for the much maligned party system of today. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that a system of functional representation will grow out of the present system. Then dominant social interests, it is claimed, would be represented. In short as Ostrogorski and Follett have suggested, the faults of modern politics may not lie in the principle of democracy itself, but only in the method or the machinery through which the principle is forced to

function. But on the other hand, there is no proof that with functional representation, or new machinery, old evils might not persist. We do not know.

These are suggestions only. They are to call attention to the fact that there is need for careful analysis. The case against democracy is strong, and it may be sound. But it has not been established beyond the proverbial shadow of a doubt that the defects of modern democracy are not to be escaped, that they are inherent in democracy itself, and that democracy must be relegated to the scrap-heap of broken down political theories. There is not sufficient evidence yet upon which to pass a final judgment. It is well to notice weaknesses, and seek their causes. That only seems clear from our survey of the material.

Geography or Occupation?

The Basis of Representation in Government

HAROLD J. LASKI

ONE of the outstanding features of our time is a certain scepticism of representative government. The territorial state, which, roughly speaking, became the characteristic form of social organization at the time of the Reformation, has not fulfilled the hopes of its founders; and even when, as in the course of the last hundred years, its basis has been widened so as to build it upon the acceptance of universal suffrage, it has been able to attain neither liberty nor equality for the mass of its members.

There have developed quite naturally, therefore, doubts whether the division of the state into equal electoral districts, in which no account is taken of the different characteristics of men, is likely to offer that nice representation of wills an adequate response to which is the test of governmental efficiency. And when, further, the scene is dominated by political groups and parties, powerful enough to dwarf the individual by the very size and strength of their mechanisms, it is intelligible that thinkers who are eager for the success of the democratic system should turn their attention to alternative hypothesis.

Of these, the outstanding one is the effort to replace the geographical by the functional basis of representation. Man, it is said, is only casually a dweller in Brooklyn or Cincinnati or San Francisco; his real ties are with the occupation to which he belongs. He has little in common with his neighbours. He does not interest himself in the ties of neighbourhood. He is, above all things, what he does—an engineer, a doctor, a teacher, a lawyer. Make the functional group of which he is a part the basis of choice, and the wills which secure representation will be realistic and coherent. Jones who delivers ice in Cleveland has nothing in common with Smith who is the president of the Cleveland Bank; his ties are with other deliverers of ice all over the United States. Let the icemen return their member to the legislature, let the bankers, the miners, and the postmen do the same, and there will result a legislature built upon the right to speak for the essential interests of men.

THE argument, of course, is not new; it can be traced back to the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution, when, very notably, the great socialist, Henri de Saint-Simon, gave it vivid expression. In our own day, the criticism it implies has grown remarkably in volume. The Guild Socialists in England, the Bolsheviks in Russia, the advocates of an economic council in Germany, a powerful, if heterogeneous, collection of thinkers in France, have all proclaimed their belief that the geographical basis is obsolete and plead earnestly for functional representation in its place.

Mr. Cole dreams of an industrial system in England in which national guilds will send their representatives to a central congress, there to legislate upon industrial matters in place of the House of Commons. The German Economic Council is already in being as a central institution built upon the coalescence into electoral units of different trades and professions. The basis of the Soviet system in Russia is voting by function within prescribed territorial units; and recent French literature is littered with schemes for representation built upon chambers of commerce and trade.

WE shall analyze a little later the actual experience of functional institutions regarded as units of final legislative competence. But it is important, first of all, to be clear as to the theoretic basis upon which the notion of functionalism rests. That theory is that vocations should be united together into a legislative assembly either to supplant, or co-operate with, the territorial state in the making of final decisions. But the questions so raised are much more difficult than the advocates of functionalism are willing to admit.

There is, first of all, the difficulty of whether functional units can be built up which, proportionately to other bodies, will enable an adequate representative body to be created. It is easy to construct a representative body which will fairly contain the needs of any given vocation; but the problem here is the very different one of weighing vocations one against the other to secure a just relationship. It seems

very doubtful whether this can be done. Anyone who followed the difficulties which attended the creation of the German Economic Council will be driven to the belief that whatever is secured is at best a crude adjustment. No one, again, will doubt the authority of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain to speak for its members on all matters which concern coal; but outside that narrow industrial area—on issues, for instance, like education, foreign policy, and the like—the Miners' Federation neither has, nor can have, any binding force over its individual constituents or any right to speak in their name. Nor must we forget the problem of finding how to combine the reality of the industrial unit with the due emphasis of fairness to the vocations within some given unit of this kind. A medical guild, for example, would be dominated by general practitioners; but they are hardly entitled to make their voice the final statement of expert knowledge upon issues which concern as well the interests, to take but a few, of nurses, of dentists, of bone-setters, and medical masseuses.

IT is difficult, therefore, on the basis of function, to discover units and to weigh them fairly when discovered; it is still more difficult for, say, an engineer to be chosen as an engineer, and to speak for other engineers on any problem that is not an engineering problem. For there is not an engineering view of foreign policy, or old age pensions, or education, or social insurance; upon these questions, the view of an industrial unit as such has no special relevance and no special claim to be representative, since any opinion it expresses goes outside its character as an industrial unit. The whole value, in other words, of vocational organization lies in the contribution it can make to the particular problems of the craft, not in the help it has to offer upon general social questions. Immediately these are in dispute, the members of some particular vocation either approach them in the spirit of their craft, in which case no special validity attaches to their judgment, or they approach them from a large standpoint, in which case they are no longer speaking as members of their craft. Vocational bodies, that is to say, have value for the resolution of functional problems; but they are not, by their very nature, suited to deal with the general issues which must be faced by society.

NOR must we forget that man is consumer as well as producer, and that the former interest is largely geographical in character. A Pennsylvania miner has, as a miner, more in common with an Illinois miner than with a Pennsylvania doctor; but upon questions such as education, health, transport, the supply of food, he has more in common with the doctor. Any vocational organization, that is to say, would have to be supplemented by a territorial organization in which the interests of men as consumers would have a place. What is to be the relation between them, and the relative weight to be assigned to each? Any scheme will deprive the political system of that direct intelligibility which is of decisive importance if it is to remain democratic. The problems of demarcating duties, of balancing authority, of co-ordinating functions—these, on any scheme so far suggested, are insoluble.

IT is worth while, moreover, to remember the implications of the experience we have. The German Economic Council is now some five years old, and is largely consultative in character. It is already clear that its best work is done not on general, but on particular, subjects, and, further, not in plenary session, but in the intimate discussion of its various committees. It is helpful when a committee of experts on engineering has to report on the eight-hour day in the engineering industry; it has no special competence when it is asked for an expression of opinion on the eight-hour day in general that makes it more valuable than the Reichstag. And it is notable that its plenary debates tend to become eloquent expressions of class ideology rather than careful explorations of the formulae in dispute. On general questions, that is to say, its members speak from the standpoint of a party and not from the angle of their vocations.

THE Russian problem is, of course, quite special in character. The Soviet is a revolutionary instrument; and its basis has been limitation of membership to a single class in the community. Even so limited, certain features are notable. First, it has been rigorously controlled by the Communist party; which has meant that the solutions made are set out in terms of party doctrine and not of functional doctrine. Secondly, it has weighted the composition of the larger Soviet assemblies so as to give urban representatives an authority from two to five times as great as that of rural representatives. As a system, that is to say, it is simply a method of working a dictatorship created to secure certain ends deemed to be desirable; it has nothing to do, so far as its present experience goes, with the problems of democratic government. One day, conceivably, it may throw light upon this issue; but that day has not yet come.

With electorates of the modern size the existence of parties is essential; for there is no other way of organizing opinion into the coherent form which makes possible a choice between alternatives. On the geographical basis, the work of parties can be performed fairly simply and, on the whole, adequately; on the functional basis, grave difficulties present themselves. For, if the capitalist system is prevalent, then the unit of choice must provide equal place for capital and labour, which nullifies, at the outset, the work of the legislative assembly; or, if it is absent, as in Russia, the explanation lies in the domination of the state by a revolution in which the controlling party limits the activities of its rivals. That is unfortunate because, with all the imperfections to which parties are subject, the services they render to a democratic state are inestimable. They prevent popular vagaries from driving their way to the statute-book. They are the most solid obstacle we have against the danger of Caesarism and oligarchy. Above all, they enable the electorate to choose between alternatives which, even though at best an artificial dichotomy, are the only satisfactory method of obtaining a government. The system works easily on the geographical basis; but it is significant that in the literature which recommends the functional solution there is no discussion of the factor of party. Mr. Cole, for example, has never discussed it in his many volumes.

IT may, indeed, be argued that the protagonists of functionalism in its extremest forms mistake the character of the modern state. The latter is not a sum of functions. It is a public service corporation seeking, within a given territory, to satisfy the interests of men as citizen-consumers. And, in that aspect, the interests of men are largely identical. They all need food and clothing, education and shelter, protection from aggression, and equality before the law. The state is the body which seeks so to organize the interests of consumer-citizens that they obtain the commodities of which they have need. Within the state, they meet as persons, and their claims are equal claims. They are not lawyers or miners, Protestants or Catholics, employers or workers. They are persons needing certain services they cannot themselves produce if they are to realize themselves.

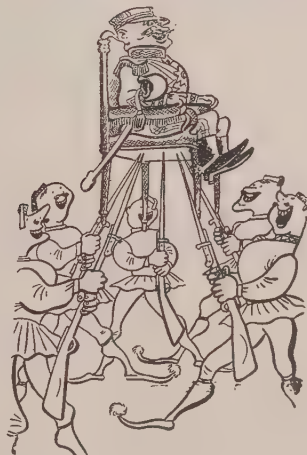
Clearly, a function of this kind, however it is organized, involves a pre-eminence over other functions. The state controls the level at which men are to live as men. It has to organize all other functions so as to secure a full civic life for its members. It regulates, directly and indirectly, to satisfy common needs at a level which the society as a whole deems urgent to the attainment of its common end. It seeks the plane where men meet not as being different but as being similar. That plane, clearly enough, is the plane of neighbourhood; and the geographical basis enables the members of the state to be organised efficiently and simply for the purpose of making their claims felt upon the vital organs of administration.

IT seems to me, therefore, that the geographical basis is the most valuable for the purposes of government; but that is not to say that there is not a larger place for the claims of functionalism than has so far been admitted. The administrative weakness of the modern state is its failure adequately to organise competent institutions of consultation about itself. It does not, upon its special problems, take proper account of the special experience of expert vocational bodies upon the issues where their views are relevant. I have elsewhere sought to show in detail how this deficiency might be met.¹ Certainly until it is met, the state cannot claim that it has sought, in any realistic way, to build its decisions upon a foundation of consent. It is important to insist that no legislation can be valid upon any other basis. For legislation is never likely to meet the desires of men save as it is compounded of their wants and desires; and it will only be so compounded as these are coherently organised in direct relation with the engines of power.

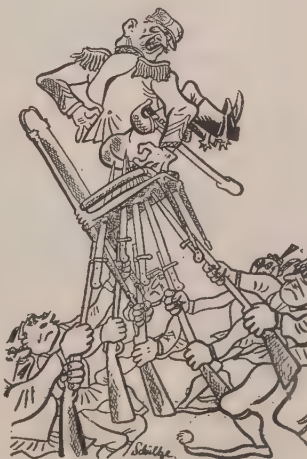
ONE other remark it is worth while to make. To reject the theory of function does not mean that the grievances it insists upon are not real grievances. Rather it denies that those grievances are, in themselves, directly traceable to the geographical basis of representation, or that they would be met if geographical contiguity were replaced by function. The root of the evil which the idea of function is intended to meet lies in another direction. Disappointment with democracy is due to the absence of democracy; and the absence of democracy is due to the persistence of a state in which there is an unequal distribution of economic power. For the disparities of wealth which obtain have dangerous consequences in every aspect of the community's

life. They pervert the process of legislation. They influence, however subtly and indirectly, the decisions of the judiciary. They limit in a final way the possibilities of education. They divide the state, in a word, into a small number of men with the power to command, and a large number whose life is consumed by the routine of obedience.

IT is hopeless to expect the results of democratic government where the theses of liberty and equality are inapplicable in the economic realm. This would be true whatever the basis of representation in the state. And this can only mean that the task of those who care about the realisation of democracy is to turn, above all things, to the problem of property and the results of its incidence. If that is made functional in character, if reward is made relative to service, and the present disparities are controlled by the state in the interests of the community, the dissatisfaction men now feel with the process of government could, with some assurance, be assuaged. But no category is so difficult of destruction as that of property; and the effort to transform it into the servant of social want will be the most intricate adventure in the history of mankind.



The Beginning



The End

One can do anything with bayonets except sit on them.

—From *Montag Morgen*, August 30, 1926

¹ cf. my *Grammar of Politics*, chapters II, VII, VIII, IX.

Let's Have More Propaganda!

BRUCE BLIVEN

THE cure for propaganda is more propaganda. In saying this I am not just misquoting the well-known observation that the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy. The cure for democracy, in my opinion, is the creation of another kind of democracy, the shift from political equality to at least a far greater degree than at present, of economic equality. But the trouble with propaganda is certainly that we haven't enough of it. What I should like is an arrangement to insure a far larger and steadier flow of it than we now see or have ever seen.

In discussing this subject, I do so with certain reservations which perhaps I ought to make explicit in advance. As I have just suggested, I regard political democracy as being important in the long run first as the forerunner, and then as the accompaniment, of a readjustment of society in the direction of greater economic equality. I do not believe that the literal majority now rules in America or anywhere else; and I do not look forward to any state of society where that will be the case, at least in the measurable future. I do not suppose that one man is in fact as good as another; if they are born so, they certainly reach maturity with widely differing qualities. When I speak of political democracy I mean only a system of government wherein the general policy of the state is patterned, at least roughly, in accordance with the movement of opinion among those sufficiently interested to make up their minds about matters of general concern.

I HARDLY need argue the point, I think, that in any such system, either in its present inadequate form or in any future more perfect one, public opinion plays an indispensable role. So completely is this true that the terms are almost interchangeable. In the modern world, the instrumentalities for disseminating news and opinion, of which the three most important are the daily press, the radio and the motion picture, have come to be the eyes and ears of the citizen. We are moving in a straight line away from the existence of the peasant of 1826, whose universe was bounded by what he could see and feel, toward a goal—never of course to be reached—where *everything* of importance will come to us, in one way or another, at second hand. Not only in his voting, but in all his social attitudes, the modern man is the product of a group of forces set in operation through the printed word and the modern supplementary mechanisms mentioned.

Why, for instance, does a man vote one way or the other? Among a host of motives we may discern three of major importance:

1. Economic advantage.
2. Inertia.
3. Emotional loyalty.

Probably these hardly ever exist separately; they are always tied up, one with another. But in any case, opinion as to what is going on in the world about one is a vital factor in each of the three. By propaganda men can be

falsely persuaded that a given course of conduct is or is not to their economic advantage; that an innovation is in fact consistent with tradition, with inertia; that loyalty to a given group of ideas demands such and such acts.

WE all see clearly today how true this is in time of war. It is the dullest carbon copy platitude to say that propaganda has become the one indispensable weapon of the militarist. Wars are no longer fought by armies but by peoples, and peoples must be mobilized, not physically but spiritually. War propaganda is not new, as some of us hastily assume. What is new is the vast scale on which it is now conducted, and the machinery recently invented for facilitating its dissemination.

Everything true in war time is also true, somewhat less intensely, in time of peace. No more striking example could be asked than the situation in the United States as the year 1926 comes to its end. The Republican Party today dominates this country completely. True, it lost heavily in the November election; but it did so because of local issues, minor dissatisfactions. It won a smashing victory in 1920, another in 1924, and the chances are strong that it will do the same in 1928. Why? In large part, at least, because of its control of the agencies which create public opinion. It happens that each of these media for the dissemination of information and ideas has become in itself an enormous capitalistic enterprise. With the dominant element in the Republican Party today openly dedicated to the deification of business, it is perhaps not unnatural that all these agencies should be heavily prejudiced in favor of Mr. Coolidge and his party. I am not suggesting any deliberate dishonesty in this arrangement. No doubt it is to some extent unconscious. All of us have a tendency to be more than fair to our own group and less than fair to our opponents.

WHAT is the solution of the problem in political democracy indicated by the situation I have sketched? Are we experiencing a misuse of the media for manufacturing public opinion which is only temporary and is due to the fact that mechanical invention has outrun social control? May we expect presently to see a return to a more even balance between parties and philosophies?

If this necessarily implies a return to a simpler way of living, less battered by a hailstorm of impressions from the outside, I think not. In my judgment we are only at the beginning of the Age of Propaganda. I look for new machines, bigger Niagaras of type, a more and more stimulated existence. Some of the machines of the future are already on the horizon: probably the one great question still to be decided about the election of 1932 is whether it will be conducted exclusively by talking motion pictures, or exclusively by visual radio. People are going to live more and more in a world of hearsay. The question is whether it is to be honest hearsay.

I BELIEVE the answer to the problem of propaganda is, therefore, as I have already suggested: *more* propaganda. It is of course no more than natural that every supporter of a given point of view should wish to urge that point of view upon others. The harmful and dangerous thing is the suppression of all opinions save one, the exclusive control of these agencies by people who advocate a particular group of ideas.

Optimists may urge that a situation like the present breeds its own antidote; and it is true that a mechanism of opposition—liberal weeklies and monthlies, free public forums, even a radio station controlled by organized labor—springs up like mushrooms under the shade of the mighty oak. For the present at least, the comparison adequately indicates their relative strength. Progress is made, to be sure (or at least, it looks like progress so long as we do not examine it too closely). The wild radicalism of yesterday is today's sensible program and tomorrow's unquestioned *fait accompli*; but in any immediate crisis, the present situation makes it almost certain that the conservatives—which usually means the anti-democrats—will win; and these victories are sometimes of desperate and irremediable importance.

Particularly is this true as regards the schools. Those who seek to whittle away the little real democracy we have, learned long ago the value of getting control of the cradle. When majority opinion appears in textbooks and in legal or social restrictions on teachers, a poison is created which does *not* "engender its own antidote."

I SUGGEST, therefore, a program for good democrats who are concerned to keep public opinion, if not wholly free from taint, which is probably impossible, at least as clean as may be. I cannot within the limits of my space expatiate upon the points proposed, nor do I feel that this is necessary.

The fight must center in the development of a technique for *hearing both sides*.

We must demand that all aspects of controversial questions be heard in school and everywhere else. We must, if necessary, make a fetish of it. We must demand it in textbooks, in oral instruction. We must insist upon devotion to it as an ideal among teachers, preachers, editors. We must, as the advertising men say, "sell it" as a doctrine to the whole country.

We must apply it in our own lives. We must break ourselves of the incorrigible habit of reading only those newspapers which cater to our preëxisting prejudices.

We must learn to buy papers of opposing views and read them both. We must at the same time bring all possible pressure to bear on the editors of the journals with which we are in agreement, to see to it that both sides of all controversial issues are given a fair hearing in their columns.

We must demand that whenever such questions are discussed at public meetings the proceedings shall take the form of a debate.

We must make ourselves, with our everlasting devotion to this doctrine, a nuisance to the whole community until we put the idea across.

DOES it seem as though I am pouring democracy through a rather small funnel when I rest its safety

upon such a matter as a technique of discussion? I recognize, of course, that other problems enter in; problems which are beyond the scope of this article. Nevertheless, it would be hard to over-emphasize the importance of the phase with which I am dealing. For the citizen can only perform his function when he has a fair idea of the situation upon which he must act; and his education can only come through the free interplay of ideas and arguments which represent opposing points of view.

I do not believe anyone, after seeing what is going on in Russia and Italy, and even the United States, can urge the desirability of making this a function of the government. No government is good enough for this job. What we need is to abolish all existing checks and barriers to the freest, most extensive circulation of propaganda. Let it reign!

TOPICAL REVIEW



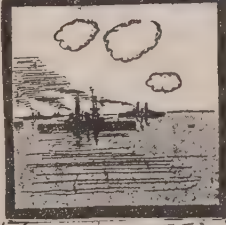
MONDAY, OCT. 15
THE ATLANTIC FLEET
STEAMS MAESTICALLY
INTO HAVANA HARBOR.
IN THE BACKGROUND
LOOMS THE FAMOUS
MORO CASTLE!



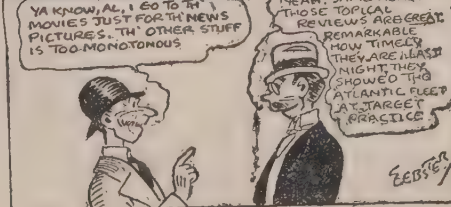
TUESDAY, OCT. 16
THE ATLANTIC FLEET
ON ITS WAY TO TARGET
PRACTICE OFF THE
COAST OF UMCUMBOLLS
THE U.S.S. SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE FOREGROUND!



WEDNESDAY, OCT. 17
THE PACIFIC FLEET
STEAMING INTO SAN
FRANCISCO BAY AFTER
MANEUVERS OFF THE
ZAMBURRIMA ISLANDS



THURSDAY, OCT. 18
THE ATLANTIC FLEET
STEAMS MAESTICALLY
OUT OF NEW YORK
HARBOR



—Reprinted from H. T. Webster's cartoon "The News Reel" in *The New York World* October 25, 1926

How Can Democracy Be Saved?

A Viewpoint from the European Background

ARNOLD WOLFERS

WHEN people speak of saving democracy, it is very important to make clear whether they are thinking of how to conserve the traditional 19th century "bourgeois democracy" or whether they are seeking the means of creating a new and truly democratic order. If it is the first they mean, they must, I think, be told that in Europe at least the days of this "once-upon-a-time" democracy are rapidly passing away. A new situation, both spiritual and economic, has grown up during the last decade. It calls for new political solutions. The question today is, whether they can be found in democracy, or whether, as many believe, some form of dictatorship will prove more adequate to the present order of things.

The existing so-called democratic constitutions are the result of centuries-long civil war between feudalism and the rising "bourgeois" or manufacturing classes. They are the form in which bourgeois victory has expressed itself in politics. We ourselves have witnessed this coming to power of the bourgeoisie in what is known as the German and Austrian revolutions of 1918. Privileges of birth disappeared. A system of elections and voting gave the political power to the majority of the electorate. This was identical to putting the government in the hands of the middle classes. Their majority was beyond a doubt. It has often been described how this establishment of bourgeois democracy at the same time opened the way to the development of that new industrial order which today is familiar to us under the name of "capitalism." Democracy submitted to the economic principle of "laissez-faire." Accumulation of wealth and of economic power was permitted thereby to go its way free from political interference. Necessarily free competition brought new forms of privilege and power. A plutocratic minority rose above the rest of the "bourgeoisie" both in wealth and in influence.

IT is interesting to find, however, that this differentiation within the ranks of the "possessing classes" affected the progress of their democratic cooperation very little. The two-party system, in part due to this division, has proved a benefit to democracy and parliamentarism. In the minds of the middle classes plutocracy was but the result of the successful use of opportunities that were believed open to every member of society. In regard to political and moral principles as well as the rights of private property and competition, there was a solid and broad common ground of understanding. Such antagonism as did exist was easily settled by legal and parliamentary methods. But this idyllic harmony has been disturbed, though exceptionally fortunate economic and political circumstances may allow it to be prolonged for some time in certain countries. Where the crisis occurs, it originates with the industrial proletariat.

To the proletarian masses in the cities this "harmonious" system of political democracy combined as it is with eco-

nomic plutocracy looks very different. Equality means little to the working man, if equality of incomes and opportunities are ignored. How can the existing order be one of liberty, Labor asks, when economic dependence weighs so heavily on the masses? Fraternity too has been proclaimed; economic warfare, however, in factories, in markets, in colonies, is making for bitterness and hatred as never before. Some people have deplored the materialistic spirit of the labor movement, that argues, as it seems, solely from the point of view of economic reality. But is not the reign of the bourgeoisie characterized by a philosophy that teaches man to follow his private interests and to strive for happiness in material prosperity? It is this "bourgeois" utilitarian spirit that has taken hold, to a large extent certainly, of the proletarian masses. Yet this should not hinder us from seeing the struggle for justice, for personal dignity and for self-expression which is the back-ground of all modern labor movements.

LABOR, having realized its disadvantageous position, had first to conquer the political rights which the bourgeoisie in the days of revolution had proclaimed to be the general "rights of men." Notwithstanding the promise thus given to all, a strong opposition long excluded the proletariat from taking part in self-government. Selfish fear that labor might use its political power to the detriment of private property and exorbitant profits, certainly accounts for much of this opposition; yet there were other and weightier motives. There was a real risk to public order and national safety in allowing the proletarian masses to take part in government. The effect of capitalism had been to keep the uneducated and unrooted masses of ever growing cities in a state of poverty and spiritual neglect. It was typical of these masses, excluded as they were from the benefits of culture, to lack most of that traditional or instinctive attachment, so characteristic of the middle-classes, to the country they lived in and to its institutions. Could they then be expected to act politically with a sense of responsibility and devotion to the whole community?

It is one of the astonishing accomplishments of the labor movement that these apprehensions proved on the whole unfounded or merely transitory. The broad masses of organized labor, trade unions and labor parties have in no respect destroyed national unity where they have come to power. Instead of breaking up the democratic order the political rise of organized labor has had the effect of transforming the old bourgeois democracy into what might be called "a bourgeois-proletarian democracy."

IF this is true, does it not mean that the new form of democracy which will meet the requirements of a new economic and social situation has already been found? Were it so, the crisis would already lie behind us and consolidation of the new state of affairs would alone be needed.

There would be little sense then in asking whether democracy can be saved. This optimistic interpretation, however, is not well founded. Social unrest and spiritual dissatisfaction have not been overcome by this first transformation. Stability and harmony have not as yet been reached in the bourgeois-proletarian democracies.

Communists and radical socialists are not convinced that the political rights acquired by peaceful constitutional evolution are of any real benefit to the working classes. Labor, they argue, will never have a majority. But even if it had, the power thus gained would prove insufficient to break capitalistic domination. There is another reason for communist dissatisfaction with the transformation we have spoken of. Skilled workers being better paid are developing into what is being called "a new middle-class." The more they rise in the social scale and the more satisfaction this elevation gives them, the less they will be willing to risk the experiments of economic revolution. Their solidarity with the masses of unskilled labor weakens. The less privileged proletarian masses resent what to them seems treason to the interests of their class.

Whether the communist movement be strong or weak at the moment, it cannot be ignored. Recent events in England have again revealed the volcanic ground on which our present order stands. Evidently those eighteenth century "rights of man" do not compensate working men for the hardships and drudgery of mechanical toil in modern factories—for low wages, long hours of work and unemployment, and for all that such conditions of life mean to the development of the family, of the home, of education, of personality. If labor as a whole is to become a constituent part of the democratic commonwealth, democracy cannot go on leaving the workers' whole existence at the mercy of so-called economic laws. The economic policy called for today is the very opposite of "laissez-faire." If in the interest of production it should prove necessary to leave a great deal of arbitrary power to the captains of industry and finance, then there is all the more need of remedying by all possible means social evils and social injustice.

THE revolt of the lowly proletarian has put democracy in a state of self-defense. The good old times of peaceful parliamentary debate between Liberalism and Conservatism have been succeeded by methods of violent revolt and suppression. Democracy has been discredited by the attitude it has been forced to take. Some blame it for using undemocratic militaristic methods, others reproach its weakness and its excessive tolerance. Open warfare, international or social, calling for repressive and brutal methods, has proved to be the most dangerous enemy of democracy.

IN response to communism and to the social disorder it threatens to bring about, a strong anti-democratic movement has sprung up within the ranks of the bourgeois classes. Have we not always prophesied, these anti-democrats say, that if you give a little finger to the masses, they will demand the whole hand? Faith in the efficiency of democratic methods has been greatly shaken, antagonism between classes as well as between groups of different economic interests—an effect of capitalistic development—has grown so strong that parliamentary methods, such as intellectual persuasion and free discussion, seem hopeless. There is left but little common ground of understanding,

either in regard to political ideas or in respect to economic policy. So general is the disharmony in many countries that it is no exaggeration to speak of it as religious and spiritual anarchy. In the face of this very harassing situation dictatorship, the antipode of democracy, is longed for as the one miraculous means of salvation.

Both the communists and their opponents, the Fascisti, have lost patience. What is the good, they demand, of that machinery called democratic control, if after all, the vested interests of some political or economic minority decide the fate of nations? If democratic self-government is but an illusion were it not better for men of great ability to be left to govern in full liberty? Is there not more to be proud of and to admire in the glorious reign of a successful dictator, than in the sterile, talkative and unstable sort of government democracy is becoming?

At the bottom of their hearts, the masses that form these groups and many of their leaders, too, are thorough-going democrats. They are not seeking the monarch of former days to whom the people were but an object of arbitrary patriarchal domination. The dictator now called for is to be a "tribune of the people." He is looked upon as the agent through which the wishes of his adherents are to be fulfilled. Every group following a dictator sincerely believes him to represent the interest of the whole community,—a fact which the others, because of their pretended blindness, their class ideology, or their perverseness, do not yet understand. The dictator is called upon to crush or to exterminate this devilish opposition which is barring the way to social or national perfection and happiness. It is promised that where the miracle of a communistic transformation of the economic system has been accomplished, true democracy, freed from class antagonism, will reign. When Fascism once has destroyed that "foreign-born" anti-national spirit of liberalism and socialism, the nation will once more be in a state of harmony. The miracle anticipated consists in overcoming the antagonisms inherent in our present spiritual situation and our economic order by mere violence and by extinction of believers in opposing views.

WE may predict, however, that dictatorship will only deepen existing antagonisms and thus lead to ever more violence and destruction. Yet no such prediction will deter the prophets of dictatorship unless the reasons can be removed which have led to such desperate expedients. There are so-called democrats enough who, if they could, would be only too ready to exterminate communists and Fascists by means of violence. These have the spirit of their opponents. But if democracy is to be saved, it can only be by a spirit of sympathy and comradeship with those who stand on the other side. For democrats should realize that violence and hatred are the outcome of disappointed lofty aspirations and long suffering.

How then, can democracy be saved from communistic destruction?

We have said before, that the proletarian revolt calls for a new and constructive program in regard to economic and social policy. Political democracy can gain the confidence of the masses only by proving that it stands above the antagonisms of the classes. Material help alone cannot bridge the existing gulf. The proletarian masses must be given a chance to help build up such institutions as will

meet with their specific necessities of life. The old church, the old school, the old family-code, even the old standards of morals and social habits, clearly show that they have grown up from social bases utterly different from those on which the proletariat is forced to live. The bourgeoisie can and must give financial and intellectual support to the efforts of the workers in all fields of cultural life.

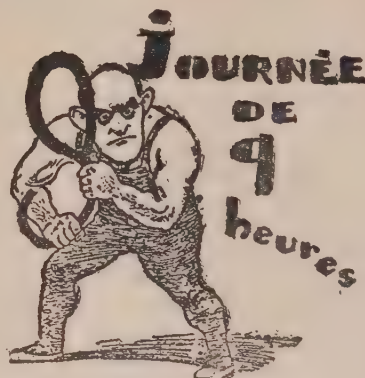
But it must not believe itself able to give religion, culture or education to the proletariat from outside. Cooperation in the sense of mutual give and take is uniformly necessary. It will need long and courageous experimenting, and very considerable sacrifices on the side of the possessing classes, if the resentful and embittered masses are to play, pre-eminently, a constructive role in the community. How can you ever hope, some people ask, to satisfy the greed of the masses, who want ever higher wages and who dream of a world of material prosperity for all? To this there is but one answer. If democracy is to be saved, the spirit of materialistic profit-seeking must be overcome right where it originated—that is, in the ranks of the possessing classes!

THE answer to the question of how democracy can be saved from Fascism, has implicitly already been given. The fundamental problem which leads up to all the rest is class antagonism. Were it possible to find a way out of this and were people thereby made hopeful again as to the possibilities of a new democratic cooperation of all the various groups of the population, many of the reasons would be eliminated which are giving rise today to programs and theories of dictatorship. There will be no end to sterile parliamentary debating and to disheartening compromises, as long as egoistic economic interests take the place of larger cultural and political issues in the hearts and minds of people. Democracy is being accused of hampering the efforts of men in power. It seems to many as if democracy were actually opposed to true leadership, though essentially it is but a method of selecting the ablest. As long, however, as there is reason to believe that many of the most efficient men in office are but exponents of group or private economic interests, democracy will have to safeguard the interests of the opposing parties and of the community as a whole against the arbitrary actions of such so-called leadership. The spiritual revolution spoken of before proves, therefore, to be the solution for the problem of leadership just as it is for the bridging of class antagonism.

THERE is no means of foretelling just how spiritual revolutions come about or how they can be consciously furthered by man's action. There is certainly need of a passionate appeal to the religious and spiritual forces to set their energies to work on the great problem before us. The situation differs too much from country to country to permit of general principles of action. The ways and means of reforming institutions and laws will be of great variety.

If, however, democracy is to be saved, it is necessary for those who call themselves democrats to make real the promise implicit in the word in all spheres of action where they have power to decide. There are still democratic political parties in which the bosses make use of their autocratic power. There still are schools and churches, families and clubs, that believe they are democratic although healthy criticism and the initiative of youth have no place in them. So-called democrats still close their eyes to the social and

international disease that is undermining political democracy. Democracy can be saved only by courageous and fervent adherents of a new spiritual and a new social order.



How Mussolini, the accomplished athlete, exerts himself to transform figures. (*Notenkraker, Amsterdam.*)



Italian Customs Officer—Have you any unfavorable opinions of Mussolini to declare? (*L'Humanité, August 8, 1926.*)



The dream of Mussolini. (*L'Humanité, August 1, 1926.*)

A Page of Verse

A Pioneer

A LONG poke-bonnet, limp earth-colored dress,
And spectacles with tarnished silver rims
Reposing on a splendid Roman nose
Trying in vain to hide quicksilver eyes
That smiled as if to twinkle "Howdy-do"
In friendly Hoosier greeting. She saw at once
I loved her burgeoning old-fashioned garden,
And asked me if I'd like to mosey through.

This visit whet my appetite to know
What roots lay hid beneath the roots she tended;
So Sunday after Sunday I drew up
By her log cabin; and one afternoon
When skies were more expansive than before,
And purple haze more gently brushed the hills,
She grew expansive, too, and told me how
She came to cast her lot among the flowers.

"For years I'd wanted pretty things at home,
Nice furniture, wall-paper, curtains, books,
And great big plate-glass winders facin' south.
(The Bible mentions 'chambers of the south',
And I have loved that passage all my life),
But John was clost, and hated all my plans,
Puttin' me off till Victor's letter come
Out of the Klondyke. I was so set up
I clean forgot that night to feed the hens.
'Now, mother, buy you what you want,' he wrote:
So then and there I started fixin' up
By gettin' first of all an easy chair;
I thought he'd find it nice to set and smoke in.
When he come in, he looked at it askew,
Then turned on me, his face a ragin' bull's,
Snarlin', 'Now, Mary, if you bring in here
Another of your fancy wammusses,
I'll take this axe' (he clenched it till his knuckles
Were whiter than them sheets there on the line)
'And smash your dew-dads to a thousand pieces.'
So what was I to do? I felt as numb
As if his axe was bedded in my brain.

For nights I laid awake and tossed and turned,
Starin' and wonderin' how I might work out
Some way to slake my thirst for pretty things;
And finally in desperation quit
Truck-gardenin', and raisin' geese and hens,

And made a bed of amaryllis, phlox,
Laburnum, buttercups, and marigolds,
Gardenias, sweet william, columbine,
And all the roses in the catalogue;
And as I planned my garden in the night
The flowers seemed sproutin' down inside my dreams,
And come up better for the dirt my mind
Had had heaped it on for a dozen years.
At first he used to come around and nag
Sayin' this posy bed was foolishness,
Would bring no ready money for the house;
And then again he'd grow more lovin'-like
And say I was the flower in the garden
He liked the best, and other such-like blarney.
But nothin' he could say would alter me;
So on I worked and pattered half the night
And dreamed about my flowers the other half
Till here is what you see." Her face lit up
When she stretched out her hand, as if a light
Quite hid from me were shining on the petals.

—WILBERT SNOW.

No Armistice

HARD riding in the venture for truth's testing,
Youth hurdles the hoary sages' doubts and fears
And plunges on, for so should all youth's questing
Quickened the years.

Whenever one lance be broken, one field stricken
And rotted fears blot dark against the dawn,
Hearts do not quail and whimper nor souls sicken;
The quest goes on.

The past shall not bind us with its cruel gyvings
Nor stay the search by new paths towards a Grail.
The old fears shall not always thwart our strivings.
We will not fail.

This ground is holy, strown with young dust of others
Who gave their all to make our way more plain.
Thank God for faith to help us prove, our brothers,
Your hopes not vain.

Sometimes we falter, missing the distant beacon
Kindled by spirits who leave the whole unguessed;
We will not halt, but press on, fight on, seek on
In the great quest.

—LOUIS TAYLOR MERRILL



A Window on the Street

Japan Heaps Coals of Fire

Japan's new land law took effect November tenth. Under its provisions all foreign nationals will be permitted to own land, save in places considered "necessary for national defense." When the law was passed by the Diet in 1925, it was noteworthy for a section leaving to the government the decision as to whether, in putting the law into operation, it should couple the law with an imperial rescript putting foreigners on a reciprocal basis, which would of course bar Americans from holding land who were citizens of states here which similarly bar Japanese. The rescript has been withheld, at least for the present. The way in which Japan, not by any means free from jingoists, has conducted herself toward the United States since our insult over exclusion, has set our country an example. How long are we to lag behind in courtesy?

To Celebrate—What?

It was reported that a physician in the United States Veterans Hospital in New York City sought to explain to some mentally disabled patients the significance of Armistice Day, but was met "in some instances with derisive laughter. In others the ex-service men merely shrugged their shoulders, not comprehending." It may not have been, however, that these tragic war victims were other than rational; possibly they had been merely reading the daily papers. For all the world around, officialdom shed a few large tears and bared its heads, and thereupon proceeded to unloose war-breeding words and deeds which have characterized no similar anniversary since 1918.

The day was not without encouragement in spots. For instance, in Passaic, one of the smaller mills broke from the ranks of the hard-boiled employers and settled with the newly formed union. Poincaré, instead of shaking his fist at Germany as on Armistice Day practically each year since the war, allowed Minister of War Painlevé to announce a reduction in the army—though it will still be large. Scientists of the nations bordering on the Pacific closed their conference in Tokyo by forming a permanent Pacific Science Association to further, among other things, "a feeling of brotherhood."

But for the most part retrogression marked the anniversary. In Poland Pilsudski put forward a program more tyrannical than anything he has previously dared. Stalin

in Moscow followed an announcement that military training will be compulsory in universities by "ten commandments" of obedience to party "discipline." Mussolini arrested the sole representative of the Slovenian minority in the Italian parliament, as a gesture of contempt for Yugoslavia. President Machado of Cuba told his Congress that if he couldn't have his way he would follow others and be a dictator. The British mine owners, scenting victory in the coal strike, made it plain that nothing short of the disruption of the unions would satisfy their lust for economic slaughter. While Tchicherin and Rushdi Bey in Constantinople discussed Soviet-Turkish relations, London issued alarms over the possibility that Asia, curiously unappreciative of British dominance, might form in self-defense a genuine League of Asiatic Nations. Governor General Leonard Wood, bulwarked by the authority of the Judge Advocate General and the Attorney General of the United States, abolished the Insular Board of Control to advance the true Republican gospel by taking the Philippine government out of business. Our own alert War Department testified that our country is ready to promote world peace by being better prepared for war industrially than ever before, 20,000 industries having been taught how to transform their plants into war machines at the drop of the hat. In hundreds of churches, presumably, ministers read to the congregations an Armistice Day message from the Federal Council of Churches' Commission on International Justice and Goodwill,—a message incredibly less outspoken against war than that of last year, a message which sidesteps the square-on attack against war as an institution, and substitutes instead vague appeals for abolition of "aggressive" war. And President Coolidge made the worst speech uttered by any President of modern times, not excepting the platitudinous extravaganzas of the late President Harding.

One does not wish to seem forever critical; but this speech is not a Coolidge, or even merely a national, matter. For some time to come it will breed dangerous international moods. Its keynote was littleminded, ingrowing nationalism; its ethics, juvenile. Apparently the President has not grasped so elementary a fact as that soldiers do not go forth to die but to kill, postponing the former as long as possible in order to do as much of the latter as they can. Yet the more rhetorical portions of the speech are based on this delusion. As for more concrete policies, the President swore off from further "leadership" on behalf of the World Court; he told the debtor nations that they must pay their debts if we are to grow to full military strength; and he

endorsed, inferentially, the American Legion's Capper-Johnson bill. On the face of it, this is a just measure, designed to eradicate profiteering and prevent war. Thwart greed, the idea is, make war disastrous to the individual, and people then will be slow to endorse it. But the plan is actually nothing of the sort. It gives the President power to conscript people, even without an act of Congress; to take over industries, fix prices and wages; and to conscript profits, but not *wealth*. Conscription of wealth has been declared by as excellent a financial authority as Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, who favors the theory, to be "impossible in practice." What Mr. Coolidge is urging on the country is a militaristic measure for conscription of life and labor ready for any war whatever.

In any case there is no hope for peace from any measure designed to make war more dreadful, horrible, or costly. In a sense, this is a tribute to human nature. The one noble thing about war is the fact that nothing in cost or pain will keep some people out of it, once they can be made to believe it right. Appeals to fear or selfishness will never do away with war. And in the capacity of human nature for sacrifice, even though in ways that pacifists regard as anti-social and perverted, they, no less than others, can but rejoice.

There Shall Your Warships Be Also

Last September the United States had six warships in Nicaraguan waters. Though our marines have been withdrawn for a short time, they have been kept on Nicaraguan soil most of the time since August 15th, 1912. Having decided to recognize the reactionary government of Diaz, the sympathy of Mexican gun-runners with the Liberal elements in Nicaragua is scarcely to be tolerated.

Three dozen important United States firms have investments in Nicaragua running into millions of dollars; three of the directors of the National Bank are citizens of this country; and approximately 70% of Nicaragua's foreign commerce is carried on with the United States. It is not difficult, therefore, to understand the reasons for our government's new concern over the spread from Mexico to the south of what official propaganda, running true to form, characterizes as "Bolshevistic notions."

If Mexicans needed a precedent for siding in with Central American revolutionists it will find it readily in the sending of our troops, in 1903, to protect the revolutionaries in Panama against the landing of the Colombian forces. Or in the fact that we ourselves have never been able fully to prevent revolutionary activities against Mexican governments from being fostered on our soil.

If recognition of the Calles regime should be withdrawn, as threatened, because of the land and petroleum laws which are scheduled to go into force on New Year's, the net effect in Mexico will be in all probability the rising of new revolutionary forces.

The Government of the United States, unfortunately, seems not so keen for the elimination of revolutionary or anti-revolutionary bloodshed as it is for casting the weight of its economic and military might in the direction best calculated at a given moment to safeguard the financial prosperity of its investors to the southward. "For where your treasure is . . ."

—DEVERE ALLEN

WORTH-WHILE PLAYS

THE dramatic offerings of the month are varied and significant; a colorful season is unfolding its pageantry of life, its crises of emotion and intellect; a half-dozen dramatists use their barbs of satire or bestow roses of romance.

George Kelly, author of *Craig's Wife* and *The Show-Off*, has come forward with another vivid, sharp drama of American home life, called *Daisy Mayme*. Mr. Kelly is one of the extremely few American playwrights whose work does not disappoint; his craftsmanship is sure, his observation is careful, his lines and characters and situations have the salt of actual American life in them; his comment is satiric, humorous, healthy, and to the point.

Daisy Mayme is a play presenting a youngish bachelor whose life has never been independent; at every turn *Cliff Mettinger* has had to consider the claims of more or less dependent sisters and their families. They have plundered their brother successfully, and do not mean to surrender their domination. They resent and sabotage the advent of the breezy, good-natured, capable *Daisy Mayme*, who may take it into her head to marry him and give him some real chance for happiness and independence. But *Daisy Mayme* knows her way about with parasitic relatives, and her struggle with the sisters is a joy to see. It is, I think, Kelly's best play up-to-date; every moment of it is real theatre, and—as it should be—real life.

Eva Le Gallienne has started off her Civic Repertory Theatre in Fourteenth Street with Benevento's colorful *Saturday Night*, a drama of the stormy witches' sabbath that, like a Florida tornado, may blow down a strong life. The past, and the future, enmeshed in the present, are the powerful forces that confront the interesting *Imperia* in the crisis of her ambitious career. Miss Le Gallienne's *Imperia* is superb as a symbol of human ambition, at the same time sure and moving as individual character. Miss Le Gallienne's acting usually combines in splendid unity the deft touches of fine character acting with the rare quality of poetic insight; her skill as a director is of equal achievement. One expects much of Eva La Gallienne's productions, and she has the pleasing habit of living up to one's expectations.

Raquel Meller, so long a romantic legend, and a reality here for a short while last spring, has returned for an indefinite engagement; one hopes that it may be a long one, for Señorita Meller has much to contribute with her colorful songs, each one a brief, individual drama. One does not need Spanish to enjoy her program; Señorita Meller does her own translating with a remarkable economy of gesture. She never loses, for a moment, the rapt attention of the audience, even though she has twelve changes. The genius of Meller is a subtle charm, a compelling grace of personality. She conquers, with the handicap of language, on a stage barren save for a black backdrop, where other singers could not dare with all the trimmings of stage *décor*. Meller needs nothing but herself and an audience; it is all too seldom one finds the theatre reduced to such simple, primitive reality.

Caponsacchi, adapted by Arthur Goodrich and Rose A. Palmer from Browning's *The Ring and the Book* for Walter Hampden, is as fascinating as one might expect; it is a great play, and Walter Hampden and his company almost make the most of it. Hampden's interpretation of the chivalrous priest *Caponsacchi* is one of his best, perhaps next to his exceptional *Shylock* of last year, and is better, in my judgment, than either his *Cyrano* or *Hamlet*. Do not let the much-exaggerated obscurity of Browning keep you away from this *Caponsacchi*. It is far too good to miss.

The Neighborhood Playhouse has revived that altogether charming idyll of old India, *The Little Clay Cart*. If you are hungering for something unusually delightful, something that will take you back to the ecstasy of your fairy-tale days, you will find it in this dainty, fantastic legend of love and villainy produced with exquisite, imaginative sense.

COLEY B. TAYLOR.

Not in the Headlines

AGNES A. SHARP

Labor Leaders Meet in Mexico

According to the *Llano Colonist* labor leaders from nearly all parts of the world, including the vice presidents of German, Swedish, Italian and Spanish organizations, delegates from all of the European countries except Russia, and others from China, Japan and Central America will meet in Mexico this month. More than 50 million workers will be represented.

Herbert Hoover on Waterways

Mr. Hoover, speaking to leaders of the Missouri River Project Conference, at Omaha, Nebraska, states that a national waterways program could develop 35 million horsepower from water instead of the present 11 million, bring 25 thousand miles of modernized waterways on streams and lakes and add 30 million acres of land to the country's agricultural domain by reclamation.

The Shame of America

The lynching of 3 Negroes, one of them a woman, near Houston, Texas, brought the total to date for 1926 up to 31 lynchings as against 18 for the entire year 1925. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today telegraphed President Coolidge urging a statement from him to the country and asking that he urge Congress to take the appropriate action within its power to end the lynching evil.

Six Men Minus "Correct Spirit"

The Military Department of the California Institute of Technology has discharged "for lack of the correct spirit" several men who last year tried in vain to get out of the course. Says the student editor of *The California Tech*: "It is always wiser to make it appear that you are the aggressor in any action."

Economic Distress in Hungary

An anti-suicide police squad has been organized by the city of Budapest because of the increase in the suicide rate due to economic stress in Hungary. Some 10 or 12 persons have been drowning themselves daily and now a fast patrol watches all water near the city to save would-be suicides.

Debts

The payments that are being made on reparations and the inter-allied debts are being made on paper, not in goods, says J. M. Keynes, the English economist, in an article recently reproduced in *The New Republic*. So far, he explains, the Dawes plan has worked smoothly. In fact revenues have exceeded the original estimates so that the payments due in 1926-27 and 1927-28 will be £15,000,000 greater than originally planned. From September, 1924, to June 30, 1926, Germany has borrowed £175,500,000 abroad and about £100,000,000 have been transferred in one way or another by the Transfer Committee. After deductions for expense of the issue, repayments of earlier loans, etc., Mr. Keynes believes that Germany's net foreign loans are about equal to the Dawes payments—about £100,000,000. "In this case, practically the whole amount of the reparations so far has been provided by the foreign lender and mainly by the United States. This means that the loans made by the United States to Germany are paid by Germany to the Allies and by them to the United States. The interest on the loans to Germany during the last two years is about £10,000,000 per year." As we are facing our war debts and probable cancellation, it is well to examine Mr. Keynes' statement: "When the circular flow of paper is impeded and the artificial equilibrium is broken, it will be for the American investor in due course of time to give the word and for the American public to find the solution."

A Significant Document

In the October, 1926, issue of "Die Kriegsschuldfrage" is a report (Concerning the Situation on July 31st, 1914) by the then Premier Pasic, to the Chief of General Staff, summarizing the diplomatic and military situation in Europe. This report, published in Serbian in 1924 and only now in the western European languages, is important because it confirms the analyses which have been made since 1918 from the closest studies of war documents. Pasic knew four days before German troops entered Belgium that the Triple Entente would stand by Serbia.

The Return of Roscoe Arbuckle

Roscoe Arbuckle is back in the movies as a director and not as an actor, and under an assumed name. Only the initiated will know when they see future films credited to "William Goodrich" that Mr. Goodrich and Mr. Arbuckle are the same person.

Cotton

Texas bankers issued an ultimatum to farmers to reduce their cotton acreage 25% or run the risk of curtailment of loans, according to the *N. Y. Times*. This action was taken at a meeting of the Texas Bankers Association called to adopt definite plans for ending the present cotton depression and to carry out policies adopted at the recent conference in Memphis. On the same day at Little Rock, Arkansas, Governor Terral was asked by a State-wide conference of farmers and business men to call a special session of the Arkansas legislature to enact legislation limiting cotton acreage. In Atlanta, Ga., application for a charter for a \$1,000,000 corporation to be known as the Georgia Cotton Finance and Holding Company, will be made soon by a committee composed of Georgia bankers, business men and agriculturists. The Committee expects the withdrawal of 300,000 bales from the market through the new company.

When Shall Children Leave School?

The Report of the Committee on Junior Education and Employment of the Manufacturers' Association advocates that children should be allowed to leave school and go to work at 14. It claims that this is the conclusion of modern educational research. The National Child Labor Committee asserts that on the contrary recent scientific investigation justifies the position they have always taken, that children should remain in school until 16. In support of this view they quote Mrs. Helen Thompson Woolley, Ph.D., formerly Director of the Vocation Bureau of Cincinnati and at present Director of the Institute of Child Welfare Research, Teachers College, Columbia University, whose recent book, "An Experimental Study of Children," is the chief source on which the National Association of Manufacturers base their report. Mrs. Woolley, in an interview with a representative of the National Child Labor Committee, stated that she does not share the view of the National Association of Manufacturers which seems to advocate a 14 year age limit for compulsory school attendance. Mrs. Woolley says that "although recent educational studies and our growing knowledge regarding differences in mental ability have revised my former attitude in respect to many of the problems of the child who leaves school for work, I have not altered my fundamental belief that children should continue their education until they reach the age of 16."

Oncomers

A Page For Future World Citizens



The Bargain

THE khausamah, in his white turban and coat, with his long, white beard nearly sweeping the ground, was sitting on his heels outside the kitchen door. The dinner he had cooked had been served to the "great sahibs," and the coffee was being taken to the veranda by the quiet bearers. But the khausamah had forgotten the Judge and the collector. He was watching a little group of travellers who had laid down their burdens under the mango trees at the side of the grand trunk road. They were picking up the fallen leaves and twigs for a tiny fire to cook their food. The harvest had failed in the next province. Every day the road was filled with groups of refugees, plodding along, hoping to find work and food where the rains had been more plentiful. The children were gathering little sticks too. One little boy seemed too tired to hunt very hard, and wandered through the gate into the Judge's compound. He looked more like a little old man than a boy, he was so thin. His one ragged garment did not hide the bony shoulders that sprang out like wings. His hands and feet were like claws. "Hut! Get out!" began the old man as he saw him enter—but entirely from force of habit. When the child looked up at him he changed his tone.

"Nay—come here, brother, come here! Thou art sick." "Yes," answered the boy. "There is pain in my stomach." "And because there is nothing there beside," went on the old man. He drew a little bundle out of the pocket of his white coat. "Here are some sweets—take them." The child took the gelabis in his hand and looked at them sadly. "Why do you not eat them?" demanded the khausamah. "It seems I am not so hungry, after all, and I will take them to the little sister. The mother died yesterday and she has no food." The boy folded the sticky sweets into the paper again and turned toward the gate. The khausamah slowly rose and followed him. For a while he leaned on the gate post and watched the group prepare for the night. Then he walked over to the tree where the boy and a baby girl and a tall thin Rajput were lying.

The next morning when the Judge's wife, with her keys on a silver chain, came out to the kitchen to order the luncheon and the dinner for the day, she found beside the brick stove a thin little boy, with very big and curious eyes.

"Who is this, khausamah? and what is he doing here?"

"Oh—that—oh, yes—" said the old man in an absent-

minded way. "That is mine—yes—I bought it yesterday, quite a bargain—three rupees." "I am talking about the boy," said Mrs. Lyle, "not the oranges—you did not buy him!" "Yes," answered the khausamah. "Three rupees—mother dead—father had no food—three rupees; very cheap indeed."

"Cheap indeed," echoed Mrs. Lyle.

"But here by the stove is no very good place for him. How about sending him down to the city to the mission school with the ayah's boys?"

Dreadful thought. No indeed. He was the khausamah's own child and should never run about with those noisy, naughty, low-born boys. No indeed.

So he sat in the corner and watched the old man make his curries and pillans. He made his own mud cakes out in a corner of the compound, and must have found them nourishing, for he grew stouter and happier every day. The sahibs and the servants all called him "the bargain." On feast days he looked like a very expensive one in his spotless white clothes and gaudy cap sewn all over with bits of mirrors that made it shine and glitter like a crown of diamonds. He always stood by with a broad smile when the khausamah unpacked the basket from the bazaar, for he knew there would be some toy or sweet for him at the bottom.

All went well until the day that Mrs. Lyle came to tell the khausamah how to prepare for a great dinner to be given that week for the new Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab who was her cousin. She found the gentle, intelligent old man, with his aristocratic nose and his patriarchal beard, in a positively sulky and stupid frame of mind. "What is the matter with you?" she finally exclaimed. "You don't hear anything I say! What are you thinking of when you ought to be thinking about the dinner?"

"The boy—mem sahib," answered the old man simply. "He has gone quite witless, crazy, knows nothing, does nothing, just sits in the corner and stares. Two days now. He is worth nothing at all without a mind. Nothing at all."

"He is sick, very sick," said the Judge's lady, taking the boy's hand and helping him out of the corner of the khausamah's little house.

"Get the groom and the carriage right away. I will drive with you to the hospital, for I know the doctor-sahib and can tell him to hurry."

Down the white, shaded roads they drove in the Judge's carriage, three miles to the compound of the hospital. The orderlies hurried out to see what they could do for the Judge's groom. As they lifted the limp, little "bargain" out of the carriage the khausamah pressed a dirty bag into Mrs. Lyle's white-gloved hands. It was heavy with silver rupees.

"Take it to the Doctor-Sahib," he begged. "Tell him to keep it all. And if he brings the boy back I will say it is a bargain, and very cheap indeed."

LOUISE ATHERTON DICKEY.



Building Tomorrow's World

Overcoming Crime by Doing Good

"WE must terrorize the criminals as they are attempting to terrorize us," recently exclaimed a prominent judge.

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart . . . and thy neighbor as thyself. . . . But he deserving to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbor?"

"It is the finality of the death penalty which instils fear into the heart of every murderer, and it is this fear of punishment which protects society. I believe society should have no hesitancy in springing the trap every time the noose can be put around a murderer's neck." Thus speaks a well-known district attorney.

"Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you . . . love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you."

"Uncle Sam is going to make sure beyond a doubt that your Christmas mail will be delivered this year without a chance of its being stolen. He has put the marines on the job to take all uncertainty out of the matter. . . . They have orders to shoot to kill, and, if there is any doubt, shoot first and ask questions afterward." A captain of the marines is our informant in this case.

"Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? until seven times? Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, until seven times; but until seventy times seven."

"Chicago, Oct. 29 (A.P.)—Richard Evans, 19, paid with his life today for the murder of a Chicago policeman. He was hanged at the Cook County jail at 7:10 o'clock."

"Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me."

"Of our forty states that still execute criminals, 15 kill them by electrocution, 23 hang them, one state, Utah, gives them the choice of being shot or hanged, and one state, Nevada, kills them with lethal gas."

"But if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good."

Does the teaching of Jesus apply to relations between the state and criminals? Can society be protected without retaliation of evil for evil, life for life? Just what would

be done with criminals if Jesus' method of dealing with evildoers were adopted by the state?

No general answer to the last question is possible, since there are at least four different types of criminals: habitual or professional lawbreakers; young and immature criminals; accidental criminals, or those who did not plan or contemplate crime but who acted under the sudden stimulus of passion or fear; those who are physically or mentally unfit.

About one thing we can be sure, there is no place in the teaching of Jesus for punishment as punishment, that is, getting even with the criminal, taking his life because he committed murder. The following sentiment seems to me to be pagan, not Christian: "The murderer has forfeited his life in the taking of the life of another. Let the punishment fit the crime and prove a warning to all malefactors." Reformation and redemption, not retaliation, are the objectives of Jesus in dealing with evildoers.

THE problem before us, therefore, is two-fold: the reformation of the criminal, on the one hand, and the protection of society, on the other. Redemptive measures must be adopted in accordance with the respective needs of various types of criminals. Where crime is the result of physical or mental ailments, the obvious thing to do is to place the patient under the care and control of specialists. If the disease is incurable and the patient is a menace to others, he should, of course, be kept in custody, being treated with the utmost of kindness and consideration.

In cases of young criminals, they should be segregated in different quarters from mature offenders and should be placed under the supervision of the most highly qualified men and women, whose only purpose would be to help overcome weaknesses in character, to train them in good citizenship and to restore them to society.

Many serious crimes are committed under the temporary sway of passion or fear by individuals who in ordinary times are useful members of the community. To condemn such persons to prison for twenty, thirty or forty years, or for life, is grossly unjust and a terrible waste for society. The indeterminate sentence is especially valuable in dealing with this class of offenders. If the only purpose of imprisonment were reformation and redemption, it would not be

impossible for properly manned prison staffs and parole boards to return most of these persons to honorable careers.

WHEN we consider hardened or professional criminals, the problem is more difficult but not different in principle. Here also the only justifiable objectives are reformation and restoration. Before this purpose can be realized drastic changes must be made in prison administration and personnel. Professor Gillin says in this connection: "Into our 3000 county jails we thrust the man charged with crime who has not been tried, the drunkard, the prostitute, the old and young, the habitual criminal and the first offender. Many of the jails are in such sanitary condition that farmers would not permit their stock to be kept in them; yet, into them we throw human beings to rot physically and morally. . . . In short, our jails are schools of crime which prepare men for a career." Out of such conditions emerge "repeaters" or professional criminals. Persons who, for one reason or another, are a serious menace to society, cannot be allowed to remain at large, but surely they ought to be imprisoned under conditions that will aid in their reformation rather than hasten their degeneration.

One phase of our problem, as we have seen, is the reformation and redemption of those persons who have committed crimes. The second phase, the protection of society, is even more important. It is obvious that if life and property are to be safeguarded, the real task before us is one of crime prevention.

HOW shall we prevent crime? A common answer is that we must instil fear of punishment in the mind of the potential criminal. It is impossible to know just how effective fear is as a deterrent. We do know that severity of punishment has frequently been accompanied by an increase in crime, and that states which have abolished capital punishment often have a lower rate of homicide than neighboring states where the death penalty is inflicted. So many factors are involved that statistics are of little value in determining the part played by fear of death.

So far as certain classes of criminals are concerned it is obvious that fear of the consequences will not prevent murder or other serious offences. Persons who lack self-control because they are diseased, physically or mentally; young persons who for one reason or another lack self-discipline; and persons who commit crimes under the sway of passion, are not likely to deliberate upon the chances of their being caught and make their decision accordingly. In the case of professional criminals, the *certainly* of being apprehended would act more powerfully as a deterrent than the *severity* of the punishment. This class of criminals are emboldened by the knowledge that they may easily avoid punishment. A well known judge recently estimated that the criminal has forty chances to one of escaping any penalty, due to technicalities, delays, court congestion and the activities of shyster lawyers.

IF we really desire to protect society, however, we must deal in an adequate way with the causes of crime, such as mental and physical deficiency, poverty, bad housing, commercialized amusements, breakdown of the home, materialistic standards of success, general disregard of the

value of personality, lack of ethical ideals and religious experience.

"Ninety per cent of the major felonies," says one judge,—"burglary, robbery, assaults on women, and murder,—are committed by men whom society should not allow at large." Many of these criminals are afflicted with what specialists call *dementia praecox*, a brain disease causing defective emotions, the victim not possessing the normal feelings of pity, kindness and love. A survey of our prison population reveals a large proportion of feeble minded and other defectives. By careful examinations of school children it is possible to discover these defectives, many of whom are potential criminals. The severe or incurable cases should be segregated, perhaps in farm colonies, under the supervision of specialists. Society must also protect itself by preventing incurables from propagating defective and potentially dangerous children.

Alcoholism and drug addiction are prolific sources of crime. Nearly 60 per cent of the inmates of the penal and correctional institutions of New York City are users or sellers of opium and other drugs. Many of our most terrible crimes are the result of intoxication or temporary insanity caused by indulgence in drugs. The only way to prevent such excesses is by removing the causes.

Poverty and its accompaniments—bad housing, congestion, immorality—are responsible for much lawlessness. Insufficient income of the father frequently drives the mother into industry, thus leaving the children without adequate guidance and training. In most large cities and industrial communities juvenile delinquency is on the increase. Many of these youngsters graduate into the ranks of professional criminals. This source of supply can be stopped only by rehabilitating the home and improving the surroundings in which children grow up.

Low ethical ideals and the lack of vital religious experience are factors of primary importance in causing crime. No external pressure can successfully be substituted for inner resistance of anti-social impulses. Our age is characterized by the breakdown of old traditions and inhibitions, the assertion of a new freedom, the deification of desire and resentment against repression, the spread of a mechanistic conception of conduct, disbelief in individual responsibility and accountability. Religion is too frequently conceived in terms of creed or ritual, while only a small fraction of our people have a vital religious experience.

CAN modern society successfully cope with lawlessness? Can crime be overcome with good? Are the tactics of Jesus practicable in dealing with serious offenders? The answer to these problems depends upon the intelligence and resoluteness with which we devote ourselves to the two-fold task of reforming the wrongdoer and preventing the creation of a new generation of criminals. To adopt the pagan practice of retaliation and to follow a policy of terrorizing criminals is simply to increase our peril. The only way out of our dilemma is to take seriously the challenge of the Great Teacher to overcome evil with good.

Kirby Page

The Religion of Eugene Debs

HAMILTON FYFE

TWO old Irishwomen on a Dublin street stayed their steps to look through some railings at a garden where an old man was busy over a rosebed.

"Look," said one, "There's tha Archbeeshop, in his gyarden, smell'n' his flowers, the darlin'!"

"But, Biddy," the other woman interrupted. "That's tha Prautestant Archbeeshop."

"The Prautestant Archbeeshop, is ut?" said Biddy. "The silly auld fule!"

I once told that story to Eugene Debs. He smiled that slow, beautiful smile of his, as he saw how it illustrated the foolishness and the blindness which keep people apart; the prejudice and the deliberate incitements to ill-feeling which prevent them from throwing down the barriers that divide them from one another.

He had the true international mind. He could see so clearly, as Walt Whitman saw, that beneath all the surface differences of race and color, speech and nationality, custom and creed, there is in humanity one soul. He saw that all human beings were in their essential characters alike. That they responded to the same stimuli. That they were influenced by the same motives. That if they knew the best was expected of them, they would strive to justify that expectation. That if they were conscious of being despised and feared, they would act so as to deserve contempt and to inspire alarm.

Debs built his Socialism, as all Socialists must if Socialism is to win the world, upon the bedrock of human nature. His saying, "When I rise, it will not be from the people but with the people," gave the key-note of his life's exquisite harmony. He echoed Whitman's "password primeval": "I will ask nothing that all cannot have upon the same terms."

That is the true "sign of democracy." Debs knew that Socialism was not in its origin intellectual. It is not an idea striking upon the brain from outside. It comes from the heart. It is an expression of that emotion which wells up when we understand the power and beauty of the command "Love thyself last."

Because Debs's Socialism was in his heart, the outcome of a noble pity and a genuine comradeship, he was able to win converts. Because of this he was respected even by those who hated his doctrine and lay awake at night in their luxurious beds tormented by craven terror at the thought of what might happen to their riches if the cooperative commonwealth ever came into being.

DO you remember Browning's poem about the Tyrant who after long plotting got an enemy into his power—as he thought? Just as he was on the point of securing his victim and wreaking his revenge—he tells the story himself:

"The man caught at God's skirts and prayed,
So I was afraid."

That was the effect of Debs's radiant faith, his confidence in the certainty of his cause, his serene refusal to believe that "though right be worsted, wrong could triumph";

his disregard of abuse and persecution, his steadily-burning flame of religious enthusiasm.

Comradeship was, in truth, his religion. In a very real sense this enabled him to "catch at God's skirts" and thus find strength to defy the Tyrants who ever pursued him seeking to stop his mouth. He could say to his followers with as much assurance as buoyed up his great fore-runner Jesus: "Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world." He overcame it in this sense—that he overcame all greed of personal advantage, all clinging to the superfluous comforts of life, all ambition to win greatness for its own sake. He overcame fear, he overcame the desire to stand well with the prominent and powerful. Hardest of all, he overcame the doubt which always assails those who are ahead of their generation, which makes them ask themselves in hours of discouragement: "Is the struggle worthwhile?"

TO all who work for betterment of the conditions imposed on the under-dogs of humanity by a cruel competitive system there must come this doubt. They must at times feel as the renegade Socialist felt in that moving and vividly acute study, *The Ragged-Trousered Philanthropists*:

"Can't you see that these people whom you are trying to make understand your plea for the regeneration of the world, your doctrine of universal brotherhood and love, are, for the most part, intellectually on a level with Hottentots?"

"The only things they feel any interest in are beer, football, betting."

"Try to reason with them, to uplift them, to teach them the way to higher things, devote your whole life and intelligence to trying to get better conditions for them, and you will find that they themselves are the enemy you will have to fight against."

Now Debs proved in America, as Keir Hardie proved in Britain, that there are a great many people who will listen to and be convinced by a religious appeal. These people are unable to follow when they are "reasoned" with. They are impatient of leaders who try to uplift them and who intimate very plainly that they themselves are already on the higher plane. But when in a friendly, unassuming way the religion of Comradeship is explained to them, they are interested. When they are asked to combine for the sake of giving every child, woman and man a square deal and equal opportunities in life, their hearts are touched, they frequently become devoted workers for the Cause.

I CAN testify that in Britain the leaven of this kind of Socialism is rapidly "leavening the whole lump." It is the only kind, I believe, from which we can hope for lasting results of any value.

Socialism in France and Germany has not produced the results which we hoped it would produce during the years when there was far more Socialism (of a kind) in those countries than there was in Britain. Why is this? I think

it is because French and German Socialism had in it no appeal to sentiment, because it was drily intellectual in its methods, because it alarmed the mass of the population by foolish talk about violent upheavals which it had neither the desire nor the capacity to carry out.

Debs, I think, knew why Britain is so far the only one of the larger European countries where a Socialist government has been in office. He knew why five and one-half million voters tried to keep it in office when the old parties, conservatives and liberals, united to turn it out, so that another despairing effort might be made to keep things as they are.

The reason is not to be found in intellectual discontent, nor in a wish for revolution by force, nor even in a belief on the part of the Socialist voters that they would personally benefit by a change of system. The reason is simply this: That every vote for Socialism is regarded as a vote in favor of Freedom, Generosity and Comradeship; as a protest against Wage Slavery, Class Warfare, and "the weakest to the wall."

THERE has grown up through the preaching of Socialism as a religion a real solidarity of the mass of British workers. They showed it when they stood together, in defense of the miners, through the General Strike last May. They showed it in the Parliamentary by-elections which followed the strike. They have just given further evidence of it by capturing some of the municipal councils in great cities and by improving the Labour position in many other places in regard to the management of local affairs.

This is due almost entirely to the tone which Keir Hardie put into Socialism, the same tone as that in which Debs spoke to the United States. I call it a religious tone because I can think of no other word which would describe it.

I don't mean that there is a connection between it and any of the forms of organized Christianity at the present time. It is religious in the fundamental sense. It supplies an answer to the riddle of human existence. It offers to a world hungry for some explanation which will not conflict with known facts, for some guide that will lead neither into a morass of mystic nonsense nor into a dead-end of mere authoritarian dogma, a faith which conflicts in no way with science, which points to a solution of almost all our major problems, which is equally good for all races and divisions of mankind.

This faith in the power of love is free from any supernatural element. This belief that the only God man has ever known for certain is the love that springs up in his heart and impels him to be kindly, forgiving, generous, instead of selfish, revengeful, oppressive, brushes aside all the machinery of theocratic system as a relic of ages which were ignorant and therefore credulous, timid and therefore easy to deceive.

It accepts everything that science teaches. It makes no attempt to explain what is unexplainable. Not "how we came" or "whither we go" interests it, but how we shall behave while we are here.

It takes the earth and the living creatures on it as it finds them. Discovering that all belong to the same family, have a common origin, and, so far as we can judge, a common destiny (extinction), the religion of Comradeship urges that we use our short time on earth to make existence

more and not less happy for all our fellow-creatures. It asks every one to search his or her own experience and to say whether the purest satisfaction he has ever known has not resulted from helping others; "doing as he would be done by; "making the effort to rise 'not from the people but with the people'," as Debs so happily put it.

HERE is a religion which cuts out all the pretense, all the insincerity which attaches today to every form of organized Christianity. There are vast numbers of people still who accept the teaching of the Churches at its face value, but these are people who have either never brought intelligence to bear upon it or have resolved to keep it in a closed compartment of their minds. For them it suffices. Their imaginations are stirred by dramatic ritual or emotional rhetoric. They are soothed and consoled by modes of worship associated with their earliest recollections. Let us murmur perhaps "the happier they" and leave their faith unassailed.

But there are vast numbers of other people, men and women and even children possessed of the knowledge now so widely diffused about the universe, the earth, and the earth's inhabitants, who reject instinctively the ancient explanations, who cannot follow the traditional guidance.

Many who minister in the churches are at one with these people in longing for a natural religion in place of the supernatural which has ceased to be a reality for them. The yearning for a bond of union (religio) which doesn't conflict with what science has taught us is felt everywhere—and with it goes a wistful eagerness for a new "morality touched with emotion" (to borrow Matthew Arnold's phrase) that shall liberate the energy, the generosity, the enthusiasm for which organized Christianity provides no outlet.

THE new morality, that which Debs practiced and preached, is not concerned with individual "Salvation." Its aim is the establishment on earth of a Kingdom of God, that is to say, of communities based on Comradeship. It aims to make the world fit for human beings to live in.

Mankind is not by nature purely selfish, solely animated by the desire for material prosperity. This desire has power upon the human imagination only when no finer purpose, no more stirring ideal, is set before it.

The world may think that Debs failed in his effort to win followers for the noble ideal that he upheld. He did not fail. His life was an inspiration to countless men and women who are working for the same ends. He has left behind a fragrant memory which will continue to fill vast numbers of us with encouragement and hope. He helped to throw down the barriers which divide us from each other—and from the only God we can be sure of, which is Love.

15th

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THE WORLD TOMORROW
52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York
Subscription Department

The Leadership That Counts

PAUL JONES

PEOPLE are rather suspicious of leaders today. There is a feeling that the word has been somewhat discredited from being applied as often to the person who has achieved a certain position as to the man who is exercising a creative function. This is particularly true of religious leadership. In the old days when the individual asked the questions, "Whence came I?" and "Whither am I going?" the man who answered his questions was called a religious leader. Yet such a usage is suggestive of mistaking the clerk at the Information Bureau of a railroad for the General Manager.

Now, however, people are less concerned with religion in relation to either terminus but are frankly and properly more interested in the part in between. "What is God's purpose in regard to the life of people?" is being asked, and "What is my part in the working out of that purpose?" Perhaps they don't even use the name of God, but merely say "What is life all about?" and "How do I fit in?" It is really the same thing. But it opens up the possibility of a different type of leadership.

NOT long since in a discussion group some perfectly orthodox church women were asked to suggest the names of various people they thought of as religious persons and among the names that came out were those of Jesus, Francis of Assisi, Gandhi, Lincoln and Eugene Debs. The women were obviously thinking not in terms of theology, mysticism or church organization, but in terms of a certain spirit or attitude expressed in the process of living which had reference to the values of life itself. They were right. Religion quite definitely has to do with the way a person expresses himself in the life of his day.

But the world is organized. Society, business, industry, politics and national life all express themselves through institutions and each institution has developed its standards and customs. Woe betide the man who questions them. Loyalty to his group is expected of each person. "Be what people expect of you in your position," is the sound advice given to business men, ministers, labor leaders or citizens; "it is the best way to get on." Unfortunately it is the best way to get to the top, and it is unfortunate because too often loyalty to the institution means disloyalty to the ends which the institution is supposed to serve. That is seen when a minister in conforming to the standards of a church which has made its peace with the materialistic world and with the nation, sacrifices the claims of certain spiritual values and of the universal human family.

A LITTLE book called *The Testament of Dominic Burleigh*, published this last year, brings out sharply the dilemma the individual faces in a world which has grown content to live in terms of appearance instead of reality, illusions instead of actuality. A brilliant young Oxford don found that what people thought he was was quite different from the fact, and that he was continually

being given credit for things he did not deserve. The war came on and he went into it because he had to in order not to disappoint people's expectations of him. Yet he knew he was a coward at heart and on one occasion the break came. Then he began to think about it. To be afraid and yet to behave as if one were not afraid, that is courage, he had been led to believe. But he asked himself, to be ashamed and yet behave as if one were not ashamed, is that courage? In the revelation of the pretense in life that that question brought out he found a rebirth in integrity.

One might carry that reasoning further. To be a sceptic and yet behave as if one were not a sceptic, is that perhaps religion? To be a rotter and yet behave as if one were not a rotter, is that what we call good society? To be intensely selfish and yet behave as if one were unselfish, is that courtesy? To be illiterate and yet behave as if one were not illiterate, is that education? To be hard boiled and yet behave as if one were not hard boiled, is that good business? To be mediocre and yet behave as if one were not mediocre, is that success? To be anything and yet behave as if one were something else, is that civilization?

It is a damning catalogue with perhaps enough truth lurking in it to bring out the falseness and cheapness that permeates life. Isn't it because most people are so busy creating illusions in regard to themselves that they cannot bear to be misunderstood? Real persons do not worry about it. Again, titles, degrees, insignia and the like have a value to those who are concerned with the impression they are creating, but are a matter of indifference to those more concerned with reality. And all the time, leadership, as the term is ordinarily understood, has to do with that world of illusion and appearance. Those who are the leaders in church, state and society are the ones who have so mastered the difficult art of conformity that they are riding on top of the wave, and yet they would give us the impression that they are the motive power of the wave that carries them!

Candor would suggest that we should make the chameleon the symbol of success. Who does not thrill at being called, perhaps, a typical Yale man, a typical Bostonian, a typical American, or finest of all, a typical man of his time? Yet could there be a greater condemnation? It is man's nature to change his environment, to exercise some creative force in the world, and he should count his life a failure unless he is, whether people recognize it or not, a man ahead of his time, unclassifiable by any style of typical average.

HERE'S the point that so often gets overlooked. Changes are going on in the world all the time. Life does not stay put, but is made up of the struggle between growth and decay. Leadership as applied to those who are in the top places of society at its present level is simply a contradiction in terms. They represent life as it is and at present are sitting on the lid, but underneath are the forces of change working that are gradually building the society

of tomorrow, and there, where the changes are going on, is the place where real leadership is being exerted.

The old relationship of master and man in industry, for instance, is going, simply because it does not work any longer. The English coal situation dramatizes it. No agreement between owners and workers no matter what its terms will resolve that situation, for due to changed international economic relationships, the development of new sources of heat and power, and other causes, the demand for coal from the British mines has been cut down so that there are many more thousands of people dependent on the industry than it can support, and only a general re-organization that includes owners, workers, community life, the general population and the government can bring about satisfactory conditions of life. It is becoming increasingly clear, both here and elsewhere, that the old relationship of master and man as a basis for industrial relations, however useful it may have been in the small scale production of the past, is on the way to replacement by some different type of association.

CHANGES are similarly taking place in the basis of the relationship between states. It would be entirely premature to say that reliance upon superior force as a basis for national security is being replaced today by something different, although there is little doubt but that it is being increasingly questioned, that efforts toward types of international co-operation in both the political and economic fields are being more frequently made, and that the military idea though still in the saddle is on the defensive. Changes are taking place.

Illustrations of other significant places where far-reaching changes in fundamental human relationships are in process will easily suggest themselves to any thoughtful person. The point is that any leadership worthy of the name will be found in connection with those processes of change rather than in maintaining the methods and institutions of the present. Or, if that too rudely seems to snatch away from the prominent figures in church, state and industry their coveted title, suppose we say that religious leadership, or leadership with God, will be manifested in those movements making toward a reorganization of social relationships. That, after all, is the only kind that counts.

RUNNING through all the varying conceptions of God is the central thought of His being the creative force in the universe. The creation of the world is continuously going on, not only in the moulding of mountains and valleys but in evolving human relationships as well, and it is in those processes of change that the divine power is manifested. Those who would work with God and as well let Him work through them will have to be putting their efforts into those movements of change that are challenging the organized and stabilized institutions of society.

It is, of course, obvious that not every cause, merely because it makes for change, is part of the divine plan; people are often mistaken when they think they are working with God; but one can be quite sure, on the other hand, that any cause which has for its purpose the strengthening of the status quo has no possible relationship with a creative God. That is what lets out our popular idols.

LEADERSHIP with God, then, takes one at times into peculiar places from the regular point of view. It throws one in with minorities which may often be hated and execrated as well as laughed at and scorned. It demands of those who would follow its path not the ambition and perseverance required in the other type of leadership but sympathy, knowledge and understanding to enable one to know where to strike in, consecration and devotion to see the struggle through, and above all such faith that this is God's world in which His purposes are being worked out that one can have the patience to work without seeing immediate results that can be counted.

Perhaps this does not present a very alluring picture of what I have called leadership with God. It certainly does not lead to positions of prestige, power or wealth. But I am not sure that it is necessary to hold out inducements, and indeed it may be that there is the weakness of our present so-called leadership; it receives too much in the way of reward so that people seek it for that reason. There is little danger of that happening when one is taking a part of leadership in God's creative work. It does not get a person offers of \$100,000 jobs, but is more apt to get him fired from such a job as he has. It is not apt to lead to the presentation of a loving cup by admiring fellow citizens, but more likely to such a cup of hemlock as was given to Socrates or to the cup which was presented to Jesus himself.

SOME day our religious "leaders" will revise their advice to the young to seek the places at the top and bring it more into harmony with Jesus' admonition to the contrary. If they are unconsciously merely trying to justify themselves we could be patient with them, were it not that the young are apt to take them seriously. The leadership of today is the prize of successful conformity with the world as it is. Leadership with God takes one into those currents where creative changes are taking place. It means catching something of His vision of the world and letting Him work through one, sharing in the work of deepening the richness of human relations, revealing the reality of human brotherhood and not caring what one's portion may be so long as one has the consciousness of being a fellow worker with God.

In the work of testing out new relationships between peoples which will render the way of war obsolete; in developing ways of doing the necessary work of the world in something approaching the spirit of brotherhood, and in efforts to recognize and act upon the essential unity that is present in varied racial and religious groups, men and women are doing a creative work that is gradually supplying answers to those questions about life which are at bottom truly religious. Such people are themselves part of the process which is going on, and in that fact lies the secret of their real leadership.

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Books on Problems of Democracy

Democracy or Violence?

DOES the general strike in Britain foreshadow "the Day" of proletarian revolt? Or is it one more tension for the flexibility and toughness of the English social system to be utilized in the strengthening of its democratic fibre? To these questions diverse answers have been given—by Trotzky, and now by Norman Angell in his brilliant and searching brief for democracy, *Must Britain Travel the Moscow Road?*¹

His argument centers on two main issues: *the problem* Britain faces, and *the two roads* open for its solution. Note that it is problem in the singular. For despite the myriad ills which street corner orators excoriate and economists analyze (in every country), there is one underlying question, which, rightly envisaged and adequately attacked, holds the key to many another that lies closer to the surface of thought and feeling. "At present the type of education which we give our citizens does not develop the capacity for the intelligent recognition of plain facts, or the guidance of conduct thereby." It is that capacity—or the lack of it—which is at the heart of the problems we face today. Our social vision is too much foreshortened.

So, in Britain's present plight, the real source of social discontent is not the agitator, Red or otherwise. Revolution is made more by the perpetrators of the *status quo* than by its attackers. Unemployment, low wages—the whole gamut of social and economic ills—are the sickness of an acquisitive society, not the workings of immutable laws or the plots of labor leaders. One blunder, such as the prosecution of the Communists in England, will make a thousand revolutionists out of peace-loving workmen who can see, in the face of the violence of the holders of power, no other workable alternative to slavery.

The alternative suggested by these same holders of power is a reduction in the standard of living—less all around for everybody. But "to take half a crown from a man with thirty shillings a week is a far heavier toll than to take three pounds from a man who has ten a week"—the burden will fall on those least able to bear it. Further, it is likely to make the present sickness worse, for a high standard of living is essential to high productivity, and to effective consumers' demand which alone will support the home and foreign market necessary for our present industrial order.

But more important still is the evidence that this is not the only alternative. For our war experience in pooling supplies and international economic cooperation proved the possibility of greatly increased production and better distribution, because they were the one visible alternative to starvation and defeat. The horizon between economic stability and chaos becomes clouded in peace time, and visibility is reduced, but the problem is here just the same. How can we sharpen the social perspective and achieve economic unity and cooperation?

In a chapter conspicuous for its fairness, Angell presents the arguments of the Communists—Trotzky's Q. E. D. of Revolution, and then proceeds to dissect the demonstration. What Trotzky omitted from his *England, Whither Bound?* was the evidence from the Russian analogy for the British revolution. And for a very good reason—the evidence is lacking. For, Angell shows from independent sources, communism "at one stroke" failed. The more realistic idealists of the Soviet Republic have from the beginning wished to return to a policy of the peaceful penetration of socialism into Russian life. Marxism "for export only" is the answer to Trotzky's evidence.

But the answer is not on the evidence only. The psychological

factor is here one of the ponderables. And it is decisive, for the workers would have to depend in an industrial society on the cooperation of the technicians and professionals. And the will to cooperate does not thrive in an atmosphere of coercion. "The perpetual resort to compulsion means withdrawing altogether the application of intelligence and the scientific method to the problems of society. . . . Intelligence can operate only so long as this spirit of coercion is kept out." Here then is the effective answer to revolution. The road to social peace is that of discipline. It is not that the means of social control are not now most of them in the workers' hands, potentially at least, but that we do not have sufficient solidarity to exercise the control. We still prefer *The Graphic* to the discipline necessary to creating a valuable "Press."

Here is at once a challenging indictment of the communist and of the capitalist formulas, and one of the most suggestive essays on the group mind which post-war experience has developed. Norman Angell has packed into one hundred and ninety pages much healing for our present discontents.

PHILLIPS BRADLEY.

Another Lance Against American "Democracy"

THE current Pullman-smoker case against our democracy usually resolves itself into one of three attitudes: I am wet and want my beer; I don't trust the politicians; I don't want the government to interfere with my profits. The case against democracy is chiefly a case against prohibition, personal incompetence and socialism.

In *U. S.—A Study in Democracy*,¹ Mr. H. E. Buchholz has marshaled a mass of evidence and opinion against American democracy on the first two counts of this popular indictment. He describes the actual working of the political machine in the American community under the direction of the "commercial politician." Popular government, he says, "has produced a type of business that makes a commercial commodity of the political interests of the people." This business is entered into "with no higher motives than would be displayed by a man starting out to deal in junk."

From this system come the Hardings and Daughertys. The machine-made statesman goes to the school of the political boss, receives his diploma in conformity and graduates into national dignity. The independent reformer has little chance against him. The press, as Mr. Buchholz points out, is only nominally free. Its dependence on advertising makes it into a sort of "negative black-mail sheet." The regimented schools turn out conformist-patriots and the military authorities make cannon-fodder out of them. Thus far Mr. Buchholz' case against American democracy is convincing and it should be a part of every school curriculum.

When the author turns to the other sins of our democracy he suffers from extreme wet astigmatism. He loses his temper and his sense of proportion in picturing a Puritan ogre devouring our liberties. He is alarmed by the prospect of a "time, perhaps twenty years hence, when governmental officials hired to enforce a prospective anti-evolution law, will be encouraged to shoot those suspected of believing in evolution rather than lodge them in jail." Does Mr. Buchholz really believe that there is such a possibility? I doubt it. There is no need of answering the hysteria of the Anti-Saloon League or the Lord's Day Alliance with more hysteria. If prohibition has perverted our democracy the fact should be established by scientific analysis and not by the specter of a disinfected, dehumanized community in which certain married couples will re-

¹ Published by Noel Douglas, London. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop (by mail from London), \$1.75 postpaid.

¹ Published by Warwick and York, Baltimore. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.20.

ceive "a command to produce within a given period, say, five children."

Mr. Buchholz wants us all to be personally responsible for our government; he demands the "aggressive functioning of private citizenry." Right. But are we facing a choice between stupid, bureaucratic government controlled by bosses, and honest, good government controlled by the intelligent with the least possible curtailment of personal liberty? Isn't our choice between two great social machines, the "invisible" government of large business interests and a highly centralized economic-political democracy capable of regulating and controlling the economic overlords? Certainly nothing less than a great, centralized government can challenge the present economic masters of our country. The very intelligent people who say that we have too much government because our present officials are so stupid seem to forget this alternative. Somebody is going to govern us anyway; personal liberty is a relative thing. If we cannot make our democracy into a powerful, centralized machine, we may as well surrender body, boots and breeches to the investment interests.

PAUL BLANSHARD.

Democratic Ideals

"DEMOCRACY is the doctrine of both means and ends," says Thomas Vernor Smith in *The Democratic Way of Life*. "It has beyond all ideals of governmental machinery constantly meant a way of life." In his idealistic discussion of democracy as the good life organized around the three principles of liberty, fraternity and equality, he defines democracy as "a social order in which every man lives richly his own life, leads his fellows where his knowledge justifies, and follows them where his ignorance compels." He visions work as an integral part of life and believes there should be no leisure except on the discharge of productive function. No one should have a superfluity until everyone has a wage adequate for life and growth. There is no discussion of political machinery or program. (Published by the University of Chicago Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$1.75, postpaid.)

A. A. S.

The American Senate

ALL other upper chambers are diminishing in influence, while our Senate exercises greater power than ever before. In this very informing and stimulating volume, Lindsay Rogers, Associate Professor of Government at Columbia, discusses the significance of the century-old controversy between the legislative and executive branches of our Government. His primary thesis is this: "The undemocratic, usurping Senate is the indispensable check and balance in the American system, and only complete freedom of debate permits it to play this role." The author's discussion of the closure will doubtless cause our esteemed Vice-President to burst forth in a new stream of profanity. (Published by Knopf, New York. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.50, postpaid.)

K. P.

Roll Call in the Senate

YOUR SERVANTS IN THE SENATE by Lynn Haines is a record of the Senate in the Harding-Coolidge regime. The chapters on Mellon, the tariff, the oil scandal, Newberry and "Sugar Charley" Warren make it more than a campaign pamphlet. It may now be told that many of the outstanding "servants of the administration" will soon cease to be "your servants." (Published by the Searchlight Publishing Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$1.00, postpaid.)

H. C. E.

The Usages of the American Constitution

THIS book will be an eye-opener to those readers who have been taught that our constitution is a rigid instrument which can be changed only by formal amendment. The author, *Herbert W. Horwill*, a fellow-countryman of Lord Bryce, traces the changes, some of them revolutionary in character, which have steadily been made by usage and common consent. (Published by The Oxford Press. New York. 1925. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.50, postpaid.)

K. P.

The Sociology of Revolution

THE author of this book, *Professor Pitirim A. Sorokin*, was a participant in the Kerensky Revolution, and is a leading opponent of the Bolshevik regime. He presents the thesis that the new society cannot be built by revolutionary tactics but must be constructed by orderly social control. He calls attention to a number of striking parallels in violent revolutions of the past, especially in the attitudes of various groups of revolutionaries toward authority, property, sex, and religion. (Published by Lippincott. Philadelphia. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.00 postpaid.)

K. P.

Unionization of Coal Miners

ARTHUR E. SUFFERN, with the aid of the council and staff of the Institute of Economics, has produced an analytical survey (from 1861 to 1925) of the unionization of coal miners in the United States in *The Coal Miners' Struggle for Industrial Status*. The formation of and the struggle for the principles of collective contractual status, of continuity of operation and of protection of property interests and values which have led to the basic rules now governing the industry are here discussed. It is a story of industrial democracy in evolution. (Published by the Macmillan Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.50, postpaid.)

A. A. S.

Moses in Red

LINCOLN STEFFENS emerges after a long silence with a study in the morphology of revolution. *Moses in Red* tries to establish a parallelism between the Exodus of Israel thirty-five centuries back and the recent revolutions in Mexico and Russia. But historical analogies, when closely pressed, generally exhibit greater differences than similarities. As an "ancient instance of a modern theme" it is fascinating reading. (Published by Dorrance and Co. Through the World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$1.75, postpaid.)

H. C. E.

HONORABLE MENTION

"What book have you recently found especially worth while?"
In response to this query we have received the following titles:

JANE ADDAMS: *The Art of Thought*, by Graham Wallas (Harcourt, Brace and Company).

JOHN BROPHY, President of District No. 2, United Mine Workers of America, Member Executive Committee League for Industrial Democracy: *The Case of Bituminous Coal*, by Hamilton and Wright (Macmillan Company).

BRENT DOW ALLINSON, writer and lecturer on peace and leader in youth movements: *George Washington: The Image and the Man*, by W. E. Woodward (Boni and Liveright).

OF GENERAL INTEREST BUT OF SPECIAL WORTH

Whither the Home?

IN the same mail, last week, two volumes of immense interest to the progressive parent came to my desk. They were the fall number of "Progressive Education" and *The Drifting Home*. Each proved an illumination to the other.

*The Drifting Home*¹ is a discussion of the problems of the modern home by a thoughtful trained observer of things as they are—Professor Ernest R. Groves of Boston University. It is not a wail over the changing standards of home life. The home is drifting, says Professor Groves, but is not necessarily headed over the dam. It is merely drifting, slightly bewildered, and may presently head upstream with strong hands at the oars. This hope for family life, in the face of all the present commercialized forces that are ranged against it, arises from his belief that it is the most deeply founded of all human institutions. "Parenthood," he says, "is a normal human need. . . . Being father or mother to a child is a social experience that has no substitute." The modern family "has risen from the position of maid of all work to that of administrator . . . it supervises the work of the underlings to whom it has farmed out its interests." It must give the child freedom, fellowship and interpretation of his experience. It must "be the umpire rather than the victim of other powerful organizations that do not have its interests at heart."

The chief aid to the home in the years just ahead is science. "Science has placed the home under the microscope." The great faults in many comfortable, respectable, easy going homes have been revealed by the newer psychology. These may be remedied in the future if society determines to educate its parents, and if the parents of the present determine to educate themselves.

The greatest barriers, just now, to the development of the good home are the "parents who haven't grown up." "When is a parent not a parent?" asks Mr. Groves. Obviously "when he still remains a child." "No adult is more mature than his emotions. If in spite of years and experience a parent persists in dealing with life in the emotional ways of his childhood he is an adult only in bulk. . . . Of course there have always been such parents: the difference is that now we are beginning to understand what their difficulty is. . . .

"Better homes depend on better parents. . . . We must admit the need of every parent's having the preparation for his life task that science and only science can give."

"Indeed—yes," well-intentioned young parents may reply, "but how? And what? And where?"

The October "Progressive Education" is an answer to their questions and a remarkable supplement to *The Drifting Home*. Professor Groves's article in it on the child's need of both parents is more concrete and detailed than most of the material in his book. Edward Yeomans, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Alice Beal Parsons, Ethel S. Dummer and others contribute expert and invaluable advice. The bibliographies and the Watsons' article on "Opportunities for Parental Education" tempt one to exclaim, "Whoever thou art, O literate parent, thou art without excuse!"

LOUISE ATHERTON DICKEY.

The Irrepressible Pamphleteers

STICK around, boys—we're going to open a keg of recent pamphlets. The hatchet, please. Crash, rip-p-p.—Ah-h! Not so bad! These things used to come packed in mothballs, and at that they got rather moldy sometimes. Here, take this excelsior. A likely looking lot, eh, fellows? *Mulum in parvo* is our motto, and honestly, when you think of how much learning you can acquire for the price of a cheap movie, it doesn't seem just right, now does it? . . . Look at this one on top, for example. Here is the record of a quarter century of progress toward international labor cooperation, and it's only a paltry 35 cents. Thank you, Sir; if any others wish copies, write to the International Federation of Trade Unions, 31 Tesselschadestraat, Amsterdam, and ask for *Twenty-five Years of International Trade Unionism*, by J. Sassenbach. . . . Looks as if they'd sent us more on labor questions. Here's Bob Dunn, for example, writing in his usual brilliant manner against *Company Unions*, and for a quarter you can have his booklet from the Trade Union Educational League, 156 West Washington Street, Chicago. . . . What're these bright red ones? We suspected it! Three radical, informational pamphlets by Scott Nearing, obtainable at a dime apiece from Social Science Publishers, 7 West 106th Street, New York, and entitled respectively *Glimpses of the Soviet Republic*, *World Labor Unity*, and *Russia Turns East*. Now boys, don't look worried—we are assuming that some of you have a blood pressure which will permit you to read and profit by something with which you may or may not agree; that's us, anyway!

Have a care, you students! You won't be able much longer to offer as an excuse for not participating in discussion groups the lack of good material to put your intellectual teeth into. Two discussion courses recently out are near the top of our keg. One of them is *Christian Principles and Race Relations*, and the other is *Christian Principles and the Problems of the Pacific*. They are the work of the Council of Christian Associations, and may be purchased from the Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, at 35c for the first and 50c for the second. . . . Not only for college students, but for discussion groups and organizations of many kinds, and even for lone individuals, two paper-covered books look good as we fish them out: *What Makes Up My Mind on International Questions*, and *All Colors—A Study Outline on Woman's Part in Race Relations*. The first is 75c and the second a dollar; both are the work of The Inquiry, and may be obtained from the Woman's Press, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, or the Association Press.

Peace pamphlets don't seem so very plentiful, somehow, and already we're getting down below the middle of the keg. Here's one, though—*The Sword of the Samurai*, a play on the theme of Japanese-American good will, by Tracy D. Mygatt, and published by The Century Company, 353 Fourth Avenue, New York, for 25 cents. . . . The second edition of Winthrop Lane's pamphlet on *Military Training in Schools and Colleges* ought to be here; it hasn't been out so awfully long. Sure enough, here it is, and only a dime, from the Committee on Militarism in Education, 387 Bible House, Astor Place, New York. Use it, my lads, to counteract the efforts of the numerous committees working to put over education in militarism! . . . For 3 cents, believe it or not, you have a chance to purchase Walter C. Longstreth's pamphlet *Regarding Military Training at Universities*; just write Peace and Service Committee, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1305 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Whew! That address alone is worth a nickel.

Irrepressible indeed is that arch pamphleteer, whose name will be found tucked away elsewhere in THE WORLD TOMORROW as that of its Editor. *Danger Zones in the Social Order* is his next to latest opus, prepared in collaboration with Sherwood Eddy, and obtainable from Mr. Eddy at 347 Madison Avenue, New York, at

¹ Published by Houghton Mifflin Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$1.75, postpaid.

15 cents. The very latest is a 64-page reprint, entitled *The Philippines and the United States*, of the meatiest portions of the recent work by Moorfield Storey and Marcial P. Lichauco. This costs 10 cents, from Kirby Page, 347 Madison Avenue, New York.

. . . *The System of Forced Labor in Africa*, issued by the Commission on International Justice and Good Will of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America (whew again!), 105 East 22nd Street, New York, is one of the best conscience-stirrers we have recently seen. . . . They didn't forget China, either, when they packed this keg. *A Policy in China*, by Henry T. Hodgkin, one of THE WORLD TOMORROW's foreign correspondents, is a fine example of our *multum in parvo* slogan, and may be had by sending 2½d. or its equivalent (figure it out for yourself, brother, our hands are too full to hold a pencil) to The Friends Book Centre, Euston Rd., London, N. W. 1. . . . One of the best things on China, if our eyes aren't so stuck up with excelsior as to deceive us, is a pamphlet the price of which isn't given, but which is called *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking, 1900-1924*, by T'ien-ei Meng and Sidney D. Gamble, published by the Chinese Social and Political Science Review, 1926. If we wanted to be common, we'd say that it uttered, even though by scholarly statistics, a *mouthful*. We do say it. . . .

Oh, those back muscles! Well, the keg is empty. If these pamphlets don't move out fast, we miss our guess. It's a wonderful chance to acquire for next to nothing a valuable five-inch book shelf.

We can't help wondering, as we look at that keg, why it is that a book of several hundred pages can get by with a title only a word or two long, whereas a little pamphlet, good though it may be, usually runs to unbelievable length in its title. Perhaps for the same reason that so many little fellers carry canes—psychological compensation.

D. A.

Reading List on Dictatorship and Democracy

- Sociology and Political Theory*, by Harry E. Barnes. Knopf.
American Political Ideas, by Charles E. Merriam. Macmillan.
Democracy, An Americal Novel, by Henry Adams. Henry Holt and Co.
Whither England? by Leon Trotzky. International Publishers.
The Phantom Public, by Walter Lippmann. Harcourt, Brace.
The Evolution of American Political Parties, by Edgar E. Robinson. Harcourt, Brace.
A History of Political Theories, edited by Charles E. Merriam and Harry Elmer Barnes. Macmillan.
The Presidential Primary, by Louise Overacker. Macmillan.
The Economic Basis of Politics, by Charles A. Beard. Knopf.
The Foundations of the Modern Commonwealth, by Arthur Norman Holcombe. Harpers.
The Foundations of Sovereignty, by Harold J. Laski. Harcourt, Brace.
The Modern Idea of the State, by Hugo Krabbe. Appleton.
Fascism, by Odon Por. Labour Publishing Co., Ltd.
History of Political Thought, by Raymond G. Gettell. Century Co.
Saturated Civilization, by Sigmund Mendelsohn. Macmillan.
Municipal Government in the U. S., by Thomas H. Reed. Century Co.
Social Struggles and Thought, by M. Beer. Small, Maynard.
Revolution and Counter Revolution in Hungary, by Oscar Jaszi. P. S. King & Son, Ltd.
The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement, by J. Franklin Jameson. Princeton University Press.
Modern Democracies, by James Bryce. Macmillan.
The Irresistible Movement of Democracy, by J. S. Penman. Macmillan.
The State, by Franz Oppenheimer. The Vanguard Press.

AGNES A. SHARP.

BETTER BOOKS for ALL-ROUND READING

Any of the following books, all of which have been carefully selected after a reading by at least one member of the staff, may be ordered from The World Tomorrow Book Shop at the regular retail price.

We pay the postage.

George Washington—The Image and the Man, by W. E. Woodward. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926. 9 x 6. 460 pages. \$4.00. Biographies used to be obituaries or *acta sanctorum*. Today they are iconoclasm, and legendary heroes become human beings. The mythical *pater patriae* emerges now as an eighteenth century man. A necessary and wholesome book!

Benjamin Franklin—The First Civilized American, by Phillips Russell. New York: Brentano's, 1926. 9¾ x 6½. 323 pages. \$5.00. The eighteenth century is a rich field for the study of conflicting movements and widely differing characters. Ben Franklin is an excellent example of the intellectual, versatile, thoroughly civilized type. It was worth while to limn this type firmly in its historical frame.

The Soviet Union Year Book 1926, compiled by Louis Segal and A. A. Santalov. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1926. 7½ x 5. 511 pages. \$2.50. What most people don't know about Soviet Russia would fill a big book. Here's the book.

Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem, by Edith Abbott. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1926. 9¼ x 6½. 881 pages. \$4.50. Select documents on the "old immigration," extending to 1882. Miss Abbott's second significant contribution to the study of a very important subject.

Orpheus or the Music of the Future, by W. J. Turner. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1926. 4¼ x 6. \$1.00. Music as it was, is and will be, expounded in 89 pages, by a poet and musician in a philosophical rather than a technical manner.

The New Japanese Womanhood, by Allen K. Faust, Ph.D. New York: George H. Doran, 1926. 5 x 7¼. 151 pages. \$1.50. Dr. Faust, President of Miyagi College, writes briefly of the changing place of women in Japan as influenced by religion, ancestor worship, politics and industry.

New Leadership in Industry, by Sam A. Lewisohn. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1926. 5 x 7¼. 229 pages. \$2.00. This book based on the assumption that, for the next few decades at least, there will be no radical change of the capitalist system in this country, suggests principles of understanding and methods of improvement in the relations between employers and employees.

Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro, by Newbell Niles Puckett. Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1926. 9¼ x 6. 644 pages. \$5.00. Thirty-five hundred authentic examples of folk-lore, two-thirds of them probably never published before, with origins and other data. You'll be surprised, too, to learn where some of these ideas had their beginnings.

The Portraits of Jesus Christ in the New Testament, by Henry Sloane Coffin. New York: Macmillan. 1926. 96 pages. 7¼ x 5¼. \$1.00. The new President of Union Theological Seminary, one of the great preachers of America, paints vivid word pictures. This book helps to make Jesus a real figure to modern readers.

New Challenges to Faith, by Sherwood Eddy. New York: George H. Doran Co. 1926. 7½ x 5. 254 pages. Paper, 50c; cloth, \$1.50. Some day we may want to argue with Eddy about this; it just *can't* be as good as it seems. Or can it?

The Art of Thought, by Graham Wallas. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1926. 314 pages. 8¼ x 5¾. \$2.75. Many persons who begin this book may never finish it, not because it is unimportant or uninteresting, but because sustained intelligent effort is required to follow the author's reasoning. Rewarded will be the man who endures to the end.

Karl Marx's Capital, by A. D. Lindsay. New York: Oxford Press. 1926. 128 pages. 7½ x 5. \$1.00. One out of 738 soap-box orators, and only one out of every 34,921 heresy hunters, has actually read the massive volumes of *Capital*. The Master of Balliol has given such a lucid summary that from now on it ought to be regarded as disgraceful not to know what Marx was talking about.

The Young Folk's Book of Invention, by T. C. Bridges. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co. 1926. 8¾ x 5¾. 287 pages. \$2.00. Listen, parents. Keep your kids of ten to fifteen from reading this book—if you can—and read it on the sly yourself; then unload bit by bit its fascinating lore. You may have 'em thinking you *are* somebody.

Revelry, by Samuel Hopkins Adams. New York: Boni and Liveright. 1926. 7½ x 5. 328 pages. \$2.00. Jurors were asked in the Fall-Doheny trial whether they had read this tale of the White House in the Harding Administration. Mr. Coolidge, the papers say, considers it scandalous—meaning the novel.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Asbestos Might Be Best for "Correspondence"

THE W. T. for October was inflicted on me. Why not print it on yellow paper?

Yours cheerfully,

JOHN M. DEAN,

A Friend of Preparedness.

First Baptist Church
Pasadena, California

From "An American"

I HAVE been to the C.M.T.C. camps at Ft. Sam Houston, San Antonio, and to Fort Crockett, Galveston, for two years; and I believe the writer, George A. Coe, of the article on page 151 of your October issue to be a lily livered mollicoddle. Such a damned weakling as he should not be called an American. And as for your publication, which I think is a pack of damn lies, I shall do all that is in my power to harm and destroy it. Just a line to let you, a cowardly traitor, know what an American thinks of such a scoundrel.

GREGG F. McREYNOLDS.

Palestine, Texas

Peace Propaganda

PROFESSOR OVERSTREET'S article on "Militarizing Our Minds," in the October number, contains a paragraph describing the agricultural Fairs as opportunities for militaristic propaganda. The Fairs offer an equally good opportunity for pacifist propaganda, and in eastern Pennsylvania this year the "big parade" has been of people carrying large shopping bags displaying peace material for all the world to read.

For several years now the Peace Committees of the two branches of Friends in Philadelphia have been developing a campaign at the Fairs in our vicinity. This year we sent our exhibit to ten, at Lancaster, Huntingdon, Harrisburg, West Chester, Reading, Allentown, Lehigh, York and Hughesville, Pennsylvania, and Trenton, New Jersey. The total cost of the campaign was just under \$2,500.00 including rent of space.

Our exhibit is carried in a half-ton auto truck with panel body. We run the truck onto our space, spread a canvas fly behind it, and exhibit under the canvas.

Our exhibit this year centered around the idea of "Adequate National Defense." A papier-maché dinosaur, naturally not full size, attracted attention. People crowded around to see what this curious beast might be, and eagerly took short biographical sketches of the dinosaur, showing that his extinction was caused by the weight of his armor, which made it impossible for him to adjust himself to changing conditions. Most people saw with a chuckle that the fable has a meaning for modern nations. As a back-ground for the dinosaur we had a row of German, English, Dutch and Japanese "No More War" posters.

All the literature and souvenirs which we distributed were intended to show that military defense is not adequate, that defense against war, through the means of settling disputes peacefully and the determination to use those means, offer the only hope of adequately protecting our homes and loved ones. The women were eager to get our souvenir shopping bags, which carried on one

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side a statement of the destructiveness of war, and on the other a suggested program for peace. The school children and the men seemed very glad to take blotters saying the same thing. Stories for children, and pamphlets about militray training, etc., were also distributed. We had in reserve, for those who seemed particularly interested, such material as *The Abolition of War*, by Eddy and Page.

In all, about 100,000 pieces of literature were distributed to some 40,000 individuals, and nearly 2,000 names and addresses of people who wanted more material were secured. The encouraging feature of the work has been the constantly decreasing hostility, and the constantly increasing interest that we have met.

This account of the work we have done this year seems the simplest way of presenting my argument that the Fairs offer us as good an opportunity as they do the other fellow. Since we are so located that we can get to ten or a dozen Fairs, our methods probably would be found unsuited to a community where only one Fair needs to be worked. But local conditions will suggest the most effective method.

RICHARD R. WOOD,
Secretary.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Uncle What?

PLEASE wipe my name out of book, because I don't agree with your philosophy; what do you mean that "Non-Violence is the greatest force"? Perhaps in India where the people depend on fruits and vegetables, but not in this country, where the people's favorite food is the MEAT. And you cannot get a piece of meat without any violence; you cannot criticize the butcher for killing poor chickens while you're buying chicken-meat of him, you can not expect Uncle Sam to sleep while the European Christians arm themselves to the teeth because they want their meat too. And they reckon that the best way to get it is to have something sharp in the hand to cut it. If any people think that Uncle Sam is a fool then they are deceiving themselves, they can call him Uncle Shylock or Uncle Sap or even Uncle Satan, that wouldn't discourage him because he knows darn well what he is and what he wants. No, he wouldn't listen to an advice of such people, who don't even know to protect their own skins. Of course the "old gent" is for peace but he also wants to get his piece because he ain't worse than anybody else. Just think about the big parasitism that inhabit this land today, that is making their extravagant living without doing any thinking, studying, worry and any useful work, what would become with their career if Uncle Samaritan was Non-violent? Their rights have to be protected, somebody have to fight for the country and flag.

Bergenfield, N. J.

JEREMY WASYLKOWSKY

Unholy Alliance?

I HAVE been interested in *THE WORLD TOMORROW*. But I dissent from your philosophy when you undertake to connect sociology with Christianity. Any such alliance will surely destroy both of these. Of course, when the Social-Christian stuff gets analyzed and drops into its inevitable operation, we can see the result of that unholy alliance here now in this bigoted interpretation of the 18th Amendment. A Christian social order may mean anything that the leaders of the movement want it to mean.

Peoria, Ill.

C. L. WINTERS

For Group Discussion

These questions are based largely on the material in this issue and are aimed to secure serious and impartial discussions and examinations of the convictions and positions set forth by the contributors. The questions are not divided into sections, but any group that undertakes to study them will need to spend more than an hour together. The leader will select and adapt the questions to meet the special interests of his group.

Is Democracy Possible Today?

I. Lord Macaulay has said, "Institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty or civilization or both." Do you agree with him? Why? Why not?

How would you explain that a war fought "to make the world safe for democracy" should have produced an age of dictators?

(Allow enough time for general discussion on these statements to bring out in terms of the group's experience where there is question as to the success of democratic experiments.)

II. Make a list of the specific situations in the life of the world or the nation where democracy is at present most seriously challenged or violated. These will probably group themselves into three or four major areas such as economic, social, cultural, political, etc. Start with one of them and develop it.

III. What are the essentials for a political democracy that implies "that each individual citizen shall share in the creation of the policies by which the state is guided, if not directly, then through a representative."

1. What are the difficulties we face in having an "enlightened voter"?

a. What are his present sources of enlightenment? What will they be in 1932? What are the present problems? What will they be in 1932?

b. What new social controls must be developed to handle the new media for manufacturing public opinion?

c. Criticize Bruce Bliven's statement that the "answer to the problem of propaganda is more propaganda."

d. What does the technique for "hearing both sides" imply for teacher, parent, editor, preacher? Does it rule out the possibility of the individual's having convictions and expressing them?

2. What would you say to the charge that the voice of the people can only rise in a shout of ignorance?

a. What is the evidence of psychologists on this point? If the results of tests that show we are a nation of sixth-grade intelligence be true, what bearing has it on your theory of democracy?

3. What are the outstanding difficulties around the problem of representation?

a. What are the advantages and disadvantages of geographical representation as over against functional or occupational representation?

b. What has the party system contributed to the failure of democratic government?

c. To what extent would you agree with Laski that the size of the modern electorate makes the existence of parties essential?

IV. Economic and Political Democracy.

1. Criticize the statement "the absence of democracy is due to the persistence of a state in which there is an unequal distribution of economic power. . . . The task of those who care about democracy is to turn above all things to the problem of property and the results of its incidence."

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2. What incidents of breakdown of democracy in the present world situation would seem to have their roots in economic inequalities, cleavages, or antagonisms?

3. What are the implications of the control of government for the purposes of business? Would you agree with Ward's statement that the worst enemies of the public weal are philanthropists?

4. Is the fullest material independence of man compatible with fullest spiritual freedom?

V. In the face of the difficulties of realizing democracy, what of such an alternative as "allowing men of great ability to be left to govern in full liberty"? Would the reign of a successful dictator who was trusted by the people be preferable to their own blundering efforts? Why? Why not?

1. What place is there in a democracy for the expert?

2. Criticize "The function of force is to give moral ideals time to grow."

VI. What relation, if any, do you see between lack of vital religious experience and the failure of democracy? Between "social disorder and religious and spiritual anarchy?"

1. Where can religion practically contribute to the realization of the ideals of democracy?

VII. What light does this discussion throw on the problem as to whether the failure in our political or economic life lies in the principle of democracy or in the method and machinery through which the principle is trying to operate?

GRACE H. LOUCKS.

The Editors of *The World Tomorrow* and Miss Loucks would like to discover how widely and with what success the Group Discussion material is being used. Detailed information sent to us will be very much appreciated and will be helpful in the preparation of this column and perhaps extend its usefulness.

They Say—

"You are getting out a great paper. It certainly has a field and there is no one better to lead us into that field than yourself."

PETER AINSLIE

"I have much at heart *THE WORLD TOMORROW*; I am hoping that the distinctively *Christian* stress in the magazine may become more and more marked."

VIDA D. SCUDDER

"We acknowledge with thanks your letter of October 4th and the copy of *THE WORLD TOMORROW*. It is being passed around our Editorial staff and has provoked much favorable comment."

L. S. TREADWELL, *Associate Editor, Scientific American*

"It seems to me your stunning November issue would be just the kind of literature to give these women and will spread *THE WORLD TOMORROW* over the State. It is a remarkable and most timely edition and I am perfectly delighted with it."

MARY E. MCDOWELL, *Illinois League of Women Voters*

"I have enjoyed your magazine very much and I wish to tell you that it is a vital force in showing the way. The group of students that are interested in bettering conditions feel that you are contributing much to guide us. Continue your good work, for the greatest satisfaction in life is the fulfillment of our most cherished dreams for which you stand."

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"Permit me to thank you for your splendid treatment of Militarism in your October number."

L. D. BECKWITH, *Editor of The Forum, Stockton, Cal.*

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The Last Page

"MY dear Eccentricus: Didn't Mr. Coolidge put one over on you? Last month you said he had kept out of the recent campaign, at least officially, and you built up an allegedly humorous paragraph on that premise. Then he went ahead and endorsed Mr. Butler of Massachusetts—*didn't* he? And hadn't you better quit kidding him for a while?

A READER.

1. He did. 2. But how was I to know he read this page so carefully? 3. I will; it isn't necessary.

* * *

DEAR Eccentricus: Can't you spell? Or did you spell Mr. Daugherty's name with an 'o' instead of an 'a' in an effort to be subtle?"

ANOTHER READER.

1. Not always. 2. You flatter me.

* * *

DEAR Eccentricus: Doesn't your zest for a happy phrase sometimes lead you into a smart-alecky high-hatting of the universe? I can imagine you rounding off a paragraph with a final thump on the typewriter and chuckling self-righteously as you revel in your fancied cleverness. Are you as humble as you might be?"

STILL ANOTHER.

1. What makes you think I have to be led? 2. Your imagination is positively clairvoyant. 3. Thank you for thinking that I *might* be.

* * *

"MY dear Eccentricus: I'm going to write you as-man to man (perhaps) and say I wish you weren't so confoundedly supercilious. You give me a pain."

ONE MORE.

1. So do I. 2. What *should* I do; charge you for it?

* * *

SIR: Your cocksure tomfoolery irritates me beyond words. You think you know it all. Can't you see yourself as others see you?"

AND YET ANOTHER.

1. Not very far beyond, apparently. 2. Then why tell me one thing more? 3. As some do, probably. For I hope these letters of criticism are essentially expressive of the unvoiced sentiments of readers who have been too charitable, bless them, to say what they really have been thinking—even if I *have* made up the whole bunch of them myself.

* * *

THE LITERARISCHE WELT recently printed the following instructions, apparently authentic, from Moscow to provincial and district authorities of the Soviets. It comes from the same brethren who have just put their heels on Trotsky's neck partly

for the latter's desire for more democracy *within* the ruling party. "In order to regulate the intellectual food for the masses," these books must be removed from all places where they might publicly contaminate the inquiring mind:

All books written in the sense of an idealistic world viewpoint.

Likewise all books written about Theosophy, Occultism, Spiritism, Phrenology, Magic, Dreams, and Oracles. Religious books, i.e., with the exception of *anti*-religious works.

All counter-revolutionary books of the period since the Czar; all propaganda literature against peace ideas, Bolshevism, and the Communist movement of 1914-1917, and all publications of the year 1917 advocating a constitutional monarchy, a democratic republic, universal general suffrage, civil liberty and a constituent assembly.

All books about religious education, church schools, etc.

All books which try to reconcile natural science with religious ideas and which speak of the wisdom of the Creator and the immorality of Darwin.

Turn this inside out, and you might well imagine you were in Texas, where they won't permit you to use the word *evol*—tut! tut! I nearly ran the risk of execution! Well,—*you* know.

* * *

WITH the tendency away from long-winded sermons, speeches, articles, books, and conferences, I have felt a general sympathy. I am, however, commencing to backslide. In a country such as ours, where even marriages—if they are to be in fashion—must not be protracted, the pendulum has swung too far of late to the side of brevity.

Articles must not exceed a couple of thousand words; books do best when they keep under 75,000 words or so; conferences beyond the three-mile limit—I mean the three-day limit—are obnoxious; and speeches increasingly are boiled down, like so much other soup, to nothing but the irreducible residuum. Americans, apparently, can't stand the strain of concentrating for more than a few moments at a time.

More and more often I find myself being asked to cover, in a talk, some important subject in ten or fifteen minutes. Steadfastly I refuse to mention certain topics at all unless I am given three-quarters of an hour. Just as the movies have usually destroyed their artistic possibilities by standardizing them all into arbitrary time periods of uniform length, so are we making ourselves intellectually ridiculous by our insistence that all questions be discussed in identical spaces on the face of the clock.

I have not yet forgotten the effort I once made to describe, as I had been asked to do, the world-wide extent of certain movements and their social aims and cultural significance, in fifteen minutes! And memory still is green of a friend with whom I had been discussing the relation of workers' management to the production of anthracite and bituminous coal, and who said ultimately, in despair: "Now see here; tell me *in a sentence* just how you would handle the coal industry!"

Yet as a matter of truthful reporting, I realized after I thought it over that I didn't even need a sentence. The answer, obviously, was: "Badly."

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I

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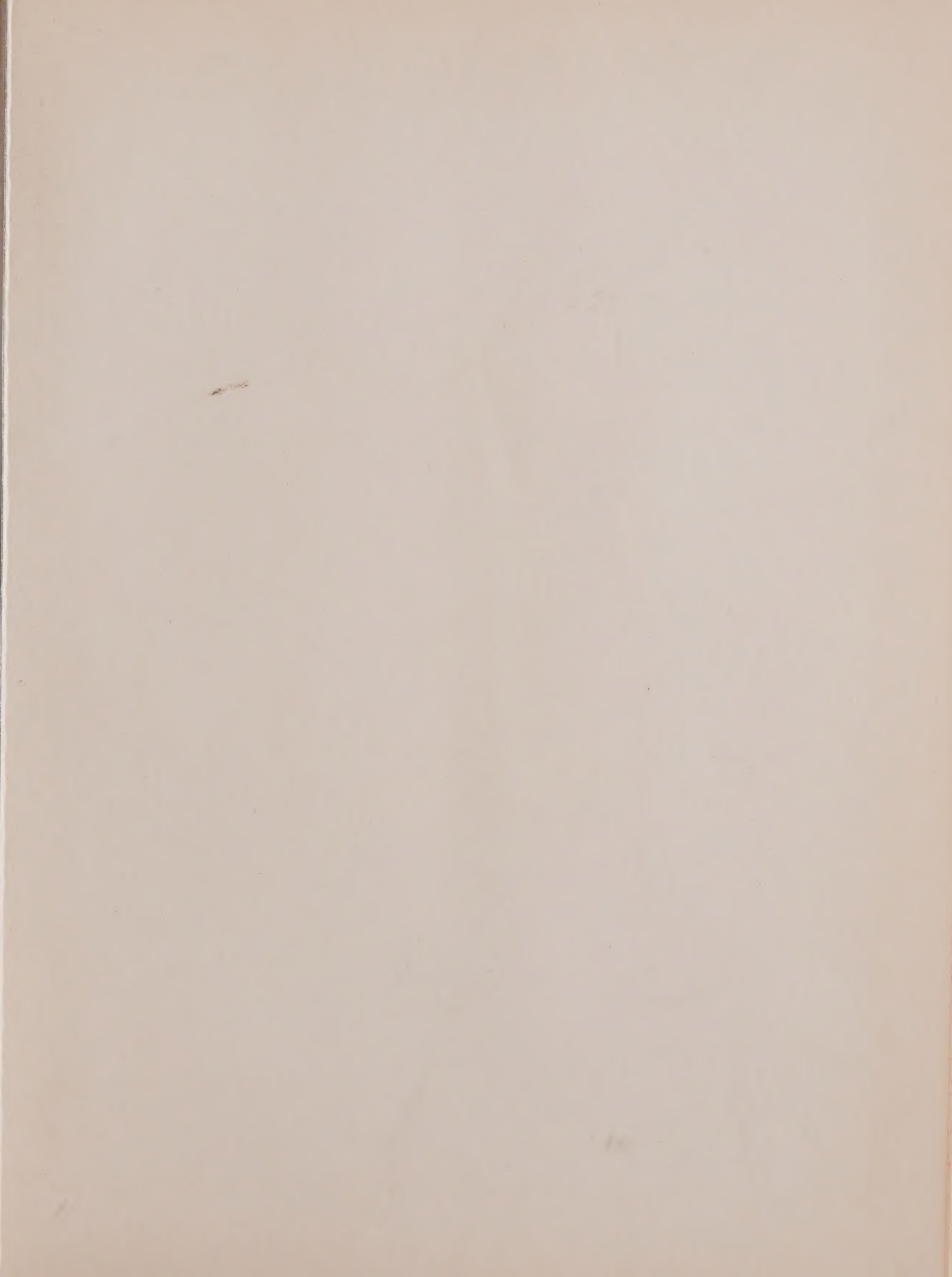
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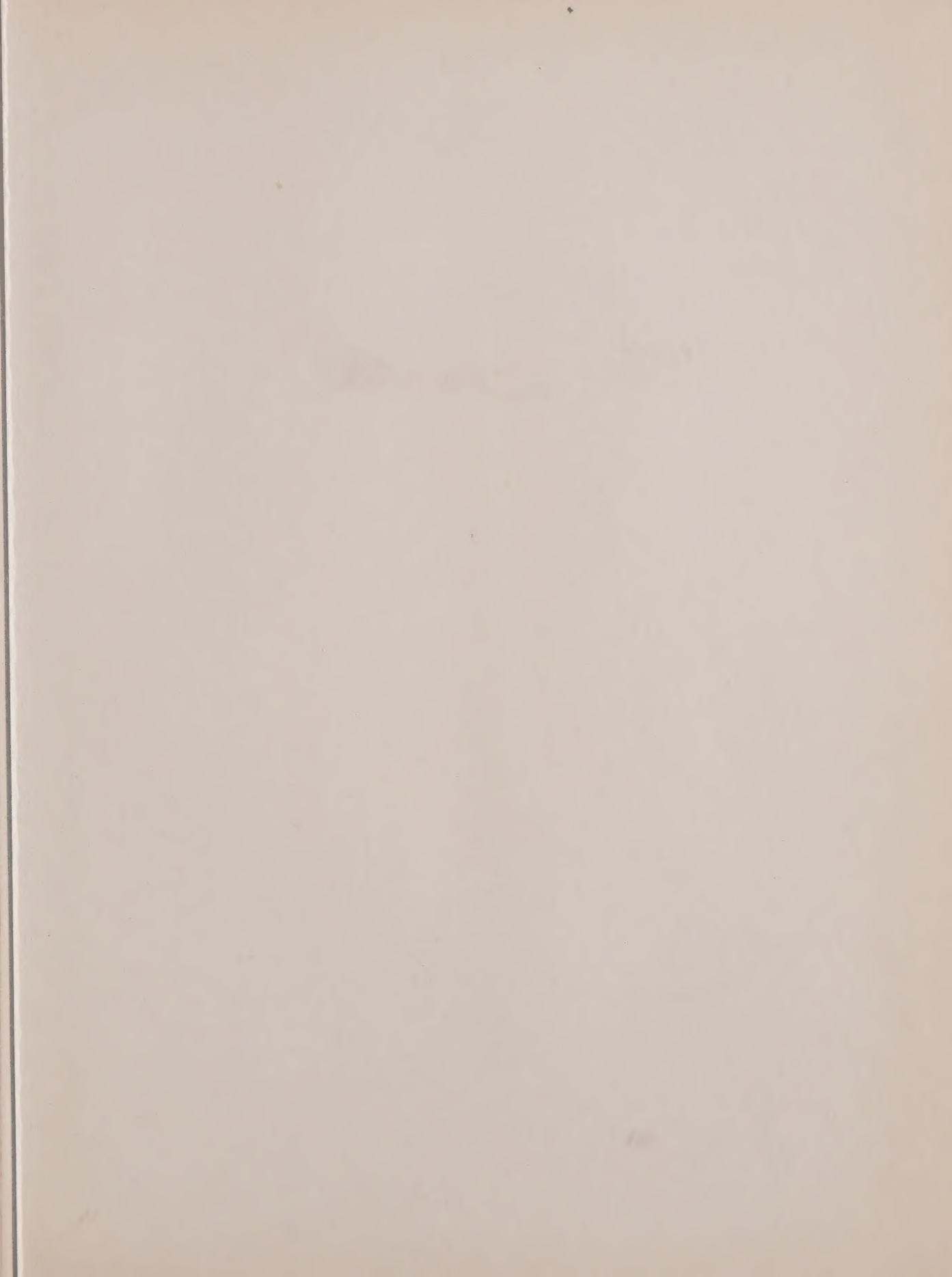
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